





Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2017 with funding from  
Boston Library Consortium Member Libraries

<https://archive.org/details/studyinsubsequen00luca>



TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I. INTRODUCTION

PAGE

CHAPTER I. History of the Technology of Removal from Home ..... 1

**SCHOOL OF RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL WORK**

CHAPTER II. The Research Project ..... 11

**RECONDITIONED CHILD SITUATIONS**

CHAPTER III. Comments on Technique Used in the Research ..... 12

**A Study in Subsequent Experiences of Children Returned to  
Their Homes by Court Order Following  
Juvenile Complaints**

CHAPTER I. Diagnostic Section ..... 16

Submitted by

CHAPTER II. Case History ..... 19

Leon Lucas

CHAPTER III. Summary ..... 203

(B.S. in S.S., Boston University, 1934)

**In partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of**

CHAPTER I. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Removal ..... 237

**Master of Science in Social Service**

CHAPTER II. Suggestions for Further Research Along Similar ..... 241

Lines ..... 241

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF BUSINESS AND SOCIAL WORK

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

A study in comparative economic growth in the United States  
and the United Kingdom, 1870-1913  
by  
J. H. B. FRANKLIN

Submitted to

the Faculty of the

School of Business and Social Work, Boston University, 1944

in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of

Master of Science in Social Science

1945



# RESCUED CHILD SITUATIONS

## A Study in Subsequent Experiences of Children Returned To Their Homes by Court Order Following Juvenile Complaints

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>PART I. INTRODUCTION</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
CHAPTER I. History and Development of the Technique of Removal from Home.....	1
CHAPTER II. The Research Project.....	11
CHAPTER III. Comments on Technique Used in The Research.....	15a
 <u>PART II. CASE HISTORIES AND ANALYSES</u>	
CHAPTER I. Diagnostic Schedules.....	16
CHAPTER II. Case Histories.....	19
CHAPTER III. Critical Summaries.....	206
 <u>PART III. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS</u>	
CHAPTER I. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Removal Technique.....	237
CHAPTER II. Suggestions for Further Research Along Similar Lines.....	241

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>PAGE</u>	<u>INTRODUCTION</u>
CHAPTER I. History and Development of the Technique of Removal from Home..... 1	
CHAPTER II. The Research Project..... 11	
CHAPTER III. Comments on Technique Used in The Research..... 124	
	<u>PART II. CASE HISTORIES AND ANALYSIS</u>
CHAPTER I. Diagnostic Schedules..... 14	
CHAPTER II. Case Histories..... 18	
CHAPTER III. Critical Summaries..... 208	
	<u>PART III. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS</u>
CHAPTER I. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Removal Technique..... 237	
CHAPTER II. Suggestions for Further Research Along Similar Lines..... 241	



## RECONDITIONED CHILD SITUATIONS

### A Study in Subsequent Experiences of Children Returned To Their Homes by Court Order Following Juvenile Complaints

#### PART I. INTRODUCTION

#### CHAPTER I. History and Development of the Technique of Removal From Home

##### A. In General

Society, or at least the responsible portion of society, has come to realize that it has certain duties towards its children, and Disraeli's remark that "The country's children are the trustees of its posterity", has now become generally accepted.<sup>1</sup> Child Protection, however, came only as an outgrowth of the protection of "dumb animals". Until well into the end of the third quarter of the nineteenth century, there was no law which recognized the right of the child to be protected from brutal or neglectful parents.<sup>2</sup> The right of children to be protected in the United States first was recognized in the famous trial of Mary Ellen in 1874, in New York City, who was being brutally mistreated and beaten by a step-mother. Henry Bergh, president of the "Animal" Society, was appealed to by a church visitor, who knew the case, to do something about the matter, and Mary Ellen was finally brought into court on a prevention of cruelty to animal's warrant. The court placed her in the custody of the "Animal" Society and then she was placed in a suitable home. Thus originated a movement for child protection which resulted, under the leadership of Mr. Bergh and Mr. Gerry and other philanthropic citizens of New York, in the granting of a charter in 1875 by the New York legislature for the organization of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. From this new movement in New York City, the child protection and child welfare movements have gradually gained their present world-wide

<sup>1</sup>Lothrop, Theodore A., A pamphlet entitled "Correction and Prevention of Neglected Children", a chapter from "Dependent and Neglected Children" D. Appleton-Century Co., N.Y., 1930

<sup>2</sup>M.S.P.C.C.-Annual Report, Fiftieth Anniversary, December 31, 1928.



RECOMMENDED CHILD SITUATIONS  
A Study in Subsequent Experiences of Children Returned  
To Their Homes by Court Order Following Juvenile Commission

PART I.  
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I. History and Development of the Technique of Removal  
From Home

A. In General  
Society, or at least the responsible portion of society,

has come to realize that it has certain duties towards its children, and

Driscoll's remark that "The country's children are the trustees of its

posterity", has now become generally accepted.<sup>1</sup> Child Protection, however,

came only as an outgrowth of the protection of "dumb animals". Until well

into the end of the third quarter of the nineteenth century, there was no

law which recognized the right of the child to be protected from physical or

neglectful parents.<sup>2</sup> The right of children to be protected in the United

States first was recognized in the famous trial of Mary Ellen in 1874, in

New York City, who was being brutally mistreated and beaten by a step-

mother. Henry Bergh, president of the "Animal" Society, was appealed to by

a church visitor, who knew the case, to do something about the matter, and

Mary Ellen was finally brought into court on a prosecution of cruelty to

animal's warrant. The court placed her in the custody of the "Animal"

Society and then she was placed in a suitable home. Thus originated a

movement for child protection which resulted, under the leadership of

Mr. Bergh and Mr. Gerry and other philanthropic citizens of New York, in

the granting of a charter in 1875 by the New York Legislature for the

organization of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to

Children. From this new movement in New York City, the child protection

and child welfare movements have gradually gained their present world-wide

<sup>1</sup> Lothrop, Theodore A., A pamphlet entitled "Correction and Prevention of  
Neglected Children", a Chapter from "Dependent and Neglected Children",  
L. Appleton-Century Co., N.Y., 1930

<sup>2</sup> U.S.B.C.C.-Annual Report, Elizabeth Ann University, December 31, 1938.



significance and importance.<sup>3</sup>

Up to the time of Mary Ellen's trial parents were considered to have supreme power over their children and it was even considered to be very unsafe and inadvisable to interfere in cases where even the most abject and miserable conditions of abuse and neglect of children existed. The bravery of Mrs. Charles C. Wheeler, the visitor who brought up the case of Mary Ellen in 1874, was the original cause of the child protective movement and the development of the technique of removal from home of children adjudged to be abused or neglected. Commodore Eldridge T. Gerry who was the counsel for the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals brought this case to a successful conclusion and was so important in the founding of the N.Y.S.P.C.C. in 1875 that it later became popularly known as the "Gerry Society".

As the movement for child protection has developed, more numerous types of problems have been tackled by protective agencies. The types of problems that have been and are being treated are physical cruelty, physical neglect, medical neglect, moral neglect, desertion, non-support and abandonment, neglect of care needed because of defect in mind or body, protection from exploitation, violation of chastity, protection needed by children of illegitimate birth. As part of the case work technique used by such agencies, recourse is often had to the Law and to the Courts when parental obligations cannot otherwise be enforced. When the conditions in which children are found are so bad as to warrant immediate removal or when parents haven't carried out the recommendations of the court, children may in many states be removed by court order temporarily pending improvement of the situation, or may be removed by the court on a permanent order of change of custody where the situation is to

<sup>3</sup>Hubbard, Ray S., Manuscript of a "History of Child Protective Movement in Massachusetts", files of the M.S.P.C.C.



court on a permanent order of change of custody where the situation is so temporarily pending improvement of the situation, or may be removed by the of the court, children may in many states be removed by court order immediate removal or when parents haven't carried out the recommendations the conditions in which children are found are so bad as to warrant the courts when parental obligations cannot otherwise be enforced. When techniques used by such agencies, recourse is often had to the law and to needed by children of illegitimate birth. As part of the case work or body, protection from exploitation, violation of chastity, protection support and abandonment, neglect of care needed because of defect in mind orality, physical neglect, medical neglect, moral neglect, desertion, non-types of problems that have been and are being treated are physical numerous types of problems have been tackled by protective agencies. The As the movement for child protection has developed, more popularly known as the "Gerry Society".

important in the founding of the M.S.P.C.C. in 1875 that it later became Cruelty to Animals brought this case to a successful conclusion and was so Gerry who was the counsel for the American Society for the Prevention of of children adjudged to be abused or neglected. Commodore Elbridge T. fective movement and the development of the technique of removal from home up the case of Mary Ellen in 1874, was the original cause of the child pro- existed. The privacy of Mrs. Charles C. Wheeler, the visitor who brought most affect and miserable conditions of abuse and neglect of children to be very unsafe and inadvisable to interfere in cases where even the sidered to have supreme power over their children and it was even considered Up to the time of Mary Ellen's trial parents were con- significance and importance.



all intents and purposes beyond repair or improvement by any of the means available.<sup>4</sup>

Child protection is a direct outgrowth of the humane movement which was started in England in 1822 under the leadership of Richard "Humanity" Martin. He succeeded in 1822 in pushing through legislation through Parliament for the protection of animals. Henry Bergh started a similar movement in New York City after being impressed by this work while visiting the English "Animal" Societies. In 1866, he was granted a charter by the New York legislature authorizing the organization of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. This society was soon emulated all over the country and they often were called Humane Societies. Then, as stated above, in 1874 the case of Mary Ellen in New York City came to the public attention through the efforts of Henry Bergh and Eldridge T. Gerry and after the case was disposed of, so many children were referred to the New York "Animal" Society that agitation was started for the organization of the first specifically children's protective agency which was chartered in 1875 under the title of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Very soon after this societies of a like order were established in Boston, Philadelphia, Rochester, N.Y., San Francisco, Calif., etc., and eventually even in other countries.

The early S.P.C.C. societies all strove by means of warnings or prosecutions to enforce such laws as existed or they succeeded in having legislated in relation to the prevention of cruelty and protection from cruelty to children, and the early S.P.C.C. societies, especially the one in New York City, regarded themselves as an adjunct to the law. The legalistic attitude in child protective work was

<sup>4</sup>Op.cit. note 1



the law. The legislative attitude in child protective work was

especially the one in New York City, regarded themselves as an adjunct to section from cruelty to children, and the early S.P.C.U. societies,

in having legislated in relation to the prevention of cruelty and pro-

secutions to enforce such laws as existed or they succeeded

The early S.P.C.U. societies all strove by means of

countries.

Rochester, N.Y., San Francisco, Calif., etc., and eventually even in other societies of a like order were established in Boston, Philadelphia,

Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Very soon after this

five agency which was chartered in 1875 under the title of the New York

started for the organization of the first specifically children's protec-

children were referred to the New York "Animal" Society that agitation was

Borgh and Bridge T. Gerry and after the case was disposed of, so many

New York City came to the public attention through the efforts of Henry

Hugan Society. Then, as stated above, in 1874 the case of Mary Ellen in

society was soon emulated all over the country and they often were called

of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. This

granted a charter by the New York legislature authorizing the organization

work while visiting the English "Animal" Societies. In 1868, he was

started a similar movement in New York City after being impressed by this

legislation through Parliament for the protection of animals. Henry Bergh

Richard "Humanity" Martin. He succeeded in 1868 in pushing through

movement which was started in England in 1823 under the leadership of

Child protection is a direct outgrowth of the human

available.

all intents and purposes beyond repair or improvement by any of the means



all-pervading till 1910 when the M.S.P.C.C., established in 1878, declared that the purpose of its existence was not merely legal protection, but also the promotion of all factors contributing to the physical, mental, and moral welfare of the children of the community. Conditions leading to the neglect or abuse of children were to be attacked and investigated. Finally the emphasis was shifted from the word cruelty to the word prevention in its title, including all the connotations that such change implied, and always with emphasis on the protective side. This new interpretation was soon adopted by many similar agencies such as the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, Ohio Humane Society, New Hampshire Children's Aid and Protective Society, Children's Aid and Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children of Erie County, New York, Children's Aid and Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children of Essex County, New Jersey, etc. At present the group emphasizing the social-preventive point of view is considered to be the liberal progressive wing in the child protective movement.<sup>5</sup>

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has had laws pertaining to the neglect, protection, and disciplining of children from the very earliest colonial days. The Record of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England, page 6, vol. 2, 1642, states that all children have certain rights to be trained in "learning, and labor, and wealth, and other implements which may be proffitable to the common wealth" and that in every town there shall be appointed among the responsible citizens, some who shall have the duty to see that these things are carried out properly for all children and that parents who neglect their duty be properly punished. Also these same citizens, responsible in the above capacity, shall with the consent of any court of magistrate also place out children of parents

<sup>5</sup>Op. cit. note 1



all-pervading till 1910 when the N.S.P.C.O., established in 1878, declared that the purpose of its existence was not merely legal protection, but also the promotion of all factors contributing to the physical, mental, and moral welfare of the children of the community. Conditions leading to the neglect or abuse of children were to be attacked and investigated. Finally the emphasis was shifted from the word protection to the word prevention in its title, including all the connotations that such change implied, and always with emphasis on the protective side. This new interpretation was soon adopted by many similar agencies such as the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, Ohio Humane Society, New Hampshire Children's Aid and Protective Society, Children's Aid and Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children of Erie County, New York, Children's Aid and Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children of Essex County, New Jersey, etc. At present the group emphasizing the social-preventive point of view is considered to be the liberal progressive wing in the child protective movement.<sup>5</sup>

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has had laws pertaining to the neglect, protection, and disciplining of children from the very earliest colonial days. The Record of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England, page 6, vol. 2, 1642, states that all children have certain rights to be trained in "learning, and labor, and wealth, and other largely means which may be profitable to the common wealth" and that in every town there shall be appointed among the responsible citizens, some who shall have the duty to see that these things are carried out properly for all children and that parents who neglect their duty be properly punished. Also these same citizens, responsible in the above capacity, shall with the consent of any court of magistrates also place out children of parents



"as shall not be able and fitt to employ and bring them up, nor shall take course to dispose of them themselves" as apprentices. Also that boys and girls be not allowed to "converse together, so as may occasion any wanton, dishonest or immodest behavior;....."<sup>6</sup> Such laws were very early drawn up "...because of its vital interest in the quality and character of its citizenship, Massachusetts has always recognized its duty and asserted its right to safeguard the physical, mental, and moral welfare of its children. It has not hesitated to intervene whenever parents have so far failed in the proper discharge of their parental duties that the welfare of their children has suffered or been seriously endangered."<sup>7</sup>

The Acts of 1866, Chapter 283, authorized and empowered cities to make provisions for carrying out laws, pertaining to neglected children under sixteen years of age, which were embodied in Section 3 of this chapter, viz.,<sup>8</sup>

"When it shall be proved to any Judge of the Superior Court, or Judge of a Municipal or Police Court or any Trial Justice, that any child under sixteen years of age, by reason of orphanage or of the neglect, crime, drunkenness or other vice of his parents, is growing up without education or salutary control, and in circumstances exposing said child to an idle and dissolute life, any Judge or Justice aforesaid, shall have power to order said child committed to such institution of instruction or other place that may be assigned for the purpose, as provided in this Act."

In the Acts of 1882(Public Statutes), Chapter 48, we find in Section 18 provision that all towns of over 5000 population shall make provision to carry out provisions and arrangements of Acts of 1866, Chapter 283, Section 1. In the Acts of 1882, Chapter 181, Section 3, provision is made that any court or magistrate may commit a child, when it becomes apparent that any child under fourteen years of age is "neglected" and is under the jurisdiction of the court or magistrate, after due notice, to the State Board of Lunacy and Charity (now the Dept. of Pub. Welfare) if there

<sup>6</sup>Mass. Neglect Laws, Materials from Legal file of the M.S.P.C.C.

<sup>7</sup>Children's Commission Report, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, January 1931, p.36

<sup>8</sup>Op. cit. note 6



"as shall not be able and fit to employ and bring them up, nor shall take  
course to dispose of them themselves" as apprentices. Also that boys and  
girls be not allowed to "converse together, so as may occasion any wanton,  
dishonest or immodest behavior;....." Such laws were

very early drawn up "....because of the vital interest in the quality and  
character of the citizenship, Massachusetts has always recognized the duty  
and asserted its right to safeguard the physical, mental, and moral welfare  
of its children. It has not hesitated to intervene whenever parents have  
so far failed in the proper discharge of their parental duties that the  
welfare of their children has suffered or been seriously endangered."

The Acts of 1886, Chapter 283, authorized and empowered  
cities to make provisions for carrying out laws, pertaining to neglected  
children under sixteen years of age, which were embodied in Section 3 of

this chapter, viz.,<sup>8</sup>  
"When it shall be proved to any Judge of the Superior  
Court, or Judge of a Municipal or Police Court or any Trial Justice, that  
any child under sixteen years of age, by reason of orphanage or of the  
neglect, crime, drunkenness or other vice of his parents, is growing up  
without education or salutary control, and in circumstances exposing said  
child to an idle and dissolute life, any Judge or Justice aforesaid, shall  
have power to order said child committed to such institution of instruction  
or other place that may be assigned for the purpose, as provided in this  
Act."

In the Acts of 1888(Public Statutes), Chapter 48, we find  
in Section 18 provision that all towns of over 5000 population shall make  
provision to carry out provisions and arrangements of Acts of 1886, Chapter  
283, Section 1. In the Acts of 1888, Chapter 181, Section 3, provision is  
made that any court or magistrate may commit a child, when it becomes  
apparent that any child under fourteen years of age is "neglected" and is  
under the jurisdiction of the court or magistrate, after due notice, to the  
State Board of Juvenile and Charity (now the Dept. of Pub. Welfare) if there



is no settlement in the Commonwealth, or to the then "Overseers of the Poor of the city or town in which he has such settlement.....until he arrives at the age of 21 years, or for any less time." The case of *Farnham v. Pierce*, 141 Mass. 203(October 28, 1885), construed the provisions of this statute of 1882, Chapter 181, Section 3, as being summary and provided no notice to parents nor appeal by parents since it was "..... a provision by the Commonwealth *parens patriae*, for the custody and care of neglected children, and is intended only to supply to them the parental care which they have lost"<sup>9</sup>.

Acts of 1886, chapter 330, inserted into section 3 in chapter 181 of the Acts of 1882, the provision - "after due complaint setting forth the facts relied upon and a hearing thereon" and requirement that notice be issued "to father or mother or legal guardian or person with whom the child resides to show cause why the child should not be committed!"<sup>10</sup>

Thus we see the neglect laws and proceedings developing in Massachusetts, and it is indicative of the means by which and the manner in which the removal from home by court order technique developed from the very earliest beginnings of Massachusetts as an English Colony, as in the Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England, as above stated. At present, the law has the following form in the General Laws of

Massachusetts, Chapter 119, Section 42:

"The Boston Juvenile Court or a district court except the Municipal Court of the City of Boston, upon a complaint made by any person that any child under sixteen years of age within its jurisdiction, by reason of orphanage, or of the neglect, crime, cruelty, insanity or drunkenness or other vice of its parents, is growing up without education, or without salutary control, or without proper physical care, or in circumstances exposing him to lead an idle and dissolute life, or is dependent upon public charity, may issue a precept to bring such child before said court, and shall issue a notice to the department, and shall also issue a summons requiring the department or person to whom such notice or summons is directed to appear before said court at the time, and place stated therein, to show cause why such child should not be committed to the

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.



is no settlement in the Commonwealth, or so the then "Overseers of the Poor of the city or town in which he has such settlement".....until he arrives at the age of 21 years, or for any less time." The case of *Farham v. Pierce*, 141 Mass. 203 (October 23, 1883), construed the provisions of this statute of 1883, Chapter 181, Section 2, as being summary and provided no notice to parents nor appeal by parents since it was ".....a provision by the Commonwealth parents parties, for the custody and care of neglected children, and is intended only to supply to them the parental care which they have lost."

Acts of 1886, Chapter 270, inserted into section 3 in Chapter 181 of the Acts of 1885, the provision - "after due complaint setting forth the facts relied upon and a hearing thereon" and requirement that notice be issued "to father or mother or legal guardian or person with whom the child resides to show cause why the child should not be committed." Thus we see the neglect laws and proceedings developed in Massachusetts, and it is indicative of the means by which and the manner in which the removal from home by court order technique developed from the very earliest beginnings of Massachusetts as an English Colony, as in the Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England, as above stated. At present, the law has the following form in the General Laws of

Massachusetts, Chapter 119, Section 42:  
 "The Boston Juvenile Court or a district court except the Municipal Court of the City of Boston, upon a complaint made by any person that any child under sixteen years of age within its jurisdiction, by reason of orphanage, or of the neglect, crime, cruelty, insanity or drunkenness or other vice of its parents, is growing up without education, or without salutary control, or without proper physical care, or in circumstances exposing him to lead an idle and dissolute life, or is dependent upon public charity, may issue a precept to bring such child before said court, and shall issue a notice to the department, and shall also issue a summons requiring the department or person to whom such notice or summons is directed to appear before said court at the time, and place stated therein, to show cause why such child should not be committed to the



department or be otherwise provided for.....".

Section 44 of Chapter 119 General Laws Mass. defines provisions for adjudication and commitment as follows:

".....the court, if it finds the allegations in said complaint proved, may adjudge that said child is a neglected child, and may further continue said complaint and allow the child to be placed in the care of some suitable person or charitable corporation upon furnishing surety for the further appearance of the child before said court whenever said court may require; and said courts may make such further orders with reference to the care and custody of the child as may conduce to his best interests; or said court may commit the child to the custody of the department until he becomes twenty-one years of age, or for a less time; and the department may discharge said child from its custody whenever the object of his commitment has been accomplished."

Section 47 of this same chapter makes provision for appeal from adjudication of the court to "the Superior Court sitting for civil business for the county where the hearing is held...." and the court must notify parents, or guardians, or people responsible for child of right of appeal from its adjudication. In the light of all these references to the Massachusetts neglect law we see that three forms of removal from home are possible, viz., temporary placing with the state Department of Public Welfare by court order till further disposition is made by the court, removal by placing in care and custody of agency or other suitable person, and permanent commitment to the state Department of Public Welfare. All removals are made on the basis of culpability of the parents, or guardians, or other persons responsible for the care of the child. If there is mere dependency, for example, there can be no removal, but the moment that culpability enters in, the neglect law becomes operative, and after due processes of complaint and law are completed the court may order the removal of the child by any three forms of disposition outlined above.

first instance of prosecution in Massachusetts of a parent for beating his child took place. The child was eleven year old Sarah Gibson, and was brought to court before

W.C.F.C., Annual Report, Fifteenth Anniversary, December 31, 1924,

48th annual printed report

1924.



department or be otherwise provided for.....".

Section 44 of Chapter 119 General Laws Mass. defines provisions for

adjudication and commitment as follows:

".....the court, if it finds the allegations in said complaint proved, may adjudge that said child is a neglected child, and may further continue said complaint and allow the child to be placed in the care of some suitable person or charitable corporation upon furnishing surety for the further appearance of the child before said court when ever said court may require; and said court may make such further orders with reference to the care and custody of the child as may conduce to his best interests; or said court may commit the child to the custody of the department until he becomes twenty-one years of age, or for a less time; and the department may discharge said child from its custody whenever the object of its commitment has been accomplished."

Section 47 of this same chapter makes provision for appeal from adjudication of the court to "the Superior Court sitting for civil business for the county where the hearing is held...." and the court must notify parents, or guardians, or people responsible for child of right of appeal from its adjudication. In the light of all these references to the Massachusetts neglect law we see that three forms of removal from home are possible, viz., temporary placing with the state Department of Public Welfare by court order till further disposition is made by the court, removal by placing in care and custody of agency or other suitable person, and permanent commitment to the state Department of Public Welfare. All removals are made on the basis of culpability of the parents, or guardians, or other persons responsible for the care of the child. If there is mere dependency, for example, there can be no removal, but the moment that culpability enters in, the neglect law becomes operative, and after due processes of complaint and law are completed the court may order the removal of the child by any three forms of disposition outlined above.



B. In the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

The Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children is at present the most important single agency in Massachusetts dealing with the proper functioning of the neglect law. Though privately supported the Society functions in close cooperation with the Juvenile and District Courts of the state and with the Department of Public Welfare, as well as with the other child-caring and other social agencies, in its work of preventing cruelty (now really a much broader function in the form of preventing neglect<sup>11</sup>). In contradistinction to the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, it functions from the social as well as the legal end and tries to do as much social adjusting as possible on each case before finally resorting to the legal means of adjustment at its disposal through the functioning of the Massachusetts Neglect Law, General Laws Massachusetts, Chapter 119, Section 42 to 51 et.al. It also interests itself in solving the legal problems connected with the guardianship of its clients. "In 1878 the M.S.P.C.C. was incorporated under the General Laws for the 'purpose of awakening interest in the abuses to which children are exposed by the intemperance, cruelty, or cupidity of parents and guardians, and to help the enforcement of existing laws on the subject, procure needed legislation, and for kindred work."<sup>12</sup>

Some of the problems early treated by the Society were excessive abuse and cruelty, child begging, intemperance of parents with consequent neglect of children, exploitation of children in all its forms, and baby farming. In June 1878, the first instance of prosecution in Massachusetts of a parent for beating his child took place. The child was eleven year old Sarah Gambion, and was brought to court before

<sup>11</sup>M.S.P.C.C., Annual Report, Fiftieth Anniversary, December 31, 1928, 48th annual printed report.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.



to Children

B. In the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty

The Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children is at present the most important single agency in Massachusetts dealing with the proper functioning of the neglect law. Though privately supported the Society functions in close cooperation with the Juvenile and District Courts of the state and with the Department of Public Welfare, as well as with the other child-caring and other social agencies, in its work of preventing cruelty (now really a much broader function in the form of preventing neglect<sup>11</sup>). In contradistinction to the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, its functions from the social as well as the legal end and tries to do as much social adjusting as possible on each case before finally resorting to the legal means of adjustment at its disposal through the functioning of the Massachusetts Neglect Law, General Laws Massachusetts, Chapter 119, Section 26 to 31 et al. It also interests itself in solving the legal problems connected with the guardianship of its clients. "In 1878 the M.S.P.C.C. was incorporated under the General Laws for the purpose of awakening interest in the abuses to which children are exposed by the intemperance, cruelty, or capidity of parents and guardians, and to help the enforcement of existing laws on the subject, procure needed legislation, and for kindred work."<sup>12</sup>

Some of the problems early treated by the Society were excessive abuse and cruelty, child begging, interference of parents with consequent neglect of children, exploitation of children in all its forms, and baby farming. In June 1878, the first instance of prosecution in Massachusetts of a parent for beating his child took place. The child was eleven years old Sarah Gannon, and was brought to court before

<sup>11</sup>M.S.P.C.C., Annual Report, Fifteenth Anniversary, December 31, 1928.  
<sup>12</sup>48th annual printed report.  
<sup>13</sup>Ibid.



Judge Churchill. Her mother was given a three months sentence in the House of Correction for punching, biting, and beating her daughter. Though there were no eyewitnesses, the marks on the child's body were sufficient to prove to the judge that the beatings and abuse took place.<sup>13</sup>

On January 1, 1907, Mr. C.C. Carstens began his work as General Secretary of the M.S.P.C.C. and with his regime was brought about a broadening of policy, and many changes. The mere prosecution of parents for neglect was pushed into second place and social work involving the whole family problem became the accepted principle and purpose of the Society's function. The emphasis was now put on the preventive part of the work and as much as possible was now done towards adjusting the situation complained of by social case work methods before legal means were to be used. In 1905, Mr. Cushing, the president of the Society, said in his annual report which foreshadowed the new trend ".....Every movement for improved social conditions should find in the M.S.P.C.C. an active participator".<sup>14</sup>

Mr. Robert Dexter, in his book "Social Adjustment" (1927), sums up the present aims and purposes of the Society as follows:<sup>15</sup>

"The Massachusetts Society has probably done more than any other single agency to convince the nation of the existence of the problem (neglect problem), and has pointed out the way to meet it.....In other words, the good child protective agency develops a specialized type of family work emphasizing home conservation, and even where the children must be removed temporarily it endeavors wherever possible to reconstruct the home and return the child".

The Society has as its main purpose the carrying out of the Neglect Law of the Commonwealth and of the other laws pertaining to the protection of children from neglect, abuse, and corruption of every sort possible. It uses the courts whenever necessary and brings about removal from home proceedings whenever the parents, guardians, or persons with whom the

<sup>13</sup> Hubbard, Ray S., History of Child Protective Movement in Massachusetts unpublished manuscript in M.S.P.C.C. files.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 37.



Judge Churchill. Her mother was given a three months sentence in the House of Correction for punching, biting, and beating her daughter.

Though there were no special cases, the marks on the child's body were sufficient to prove to the Judge that the beating and abuse took place.

On January 1, 1907, Mr. C.C. Carstens began his work as General Secretary of the M.S.P.C.C. and with his regime was brought about a broadening of policy, and many changes. The mere prosecution of parents for neglect was pushed into second place and social work involving the whole family problem became the accepted principle and purpose of the Society's function. The emphasis was now put on the preventive part of the work and as much as possible was now done towards adjusting the situation complained of by social case work methods before legal means were to be used. In 1908, Mr. Graham, the president of the Society, said in his annual report which foreboded the new trend ".....Every movement for improved social conditions should find in the M.S.P.C.C. an active participant".

Mr. Robert Dexter, in his book "Social Adjustment" (1927),

sums up the present aims and purposes of the Society as follows:  
"The Massachusetts Society has probably done more than any other single agency to convince the nation of the existence of the problem (neglect problem), and has pointed out the way to meet it..... In other words, the good child protective agency develops a specialized type of family work emphasizing home conservation, and even where the children must be removed temporarily it endeavors wherever possible to reconstruct the home and return the child."

The Society has as its main purpose the carrying out of the neglect law of the Commonwealth and of the other laws pertaining to the protection of children from neglect, abuse, and corruption of every sort possible. It uses the courts whenever necessary and brings about removal from home proceedings whenever the parents, guardians, or persons with whom the



children are, are not mindful of the needs of the children under their care. Its work is definitely of a kind that is not very amenable to adoption as a public task since its functions are more flexible and comprehensive and can be molded to the problem at hand when privately supported. However in some places it is now believed that the rescue part of the work per se is purely legal and is handled as a public function because it is more or less of a routine matter. Nevertheless the preventive work per se, which is the social work and community organization part of the work of the Society, is still believed to be more adequately carried out by a private agency such as the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, because its program is more flexible by virtue of the fact that it is privately supported, and is less subject to the whims of the legislature and of politicians for the same reason. Wherever protective work is well organized, it is still universally believed that it is better to carry it out under private auspices.

Instances, either improved, remedied, or changed permanently, and were cases in which it was felt by the court and the Society that it was safe to return the children to their own homes.

Another purpose of the study was to evaluate a specific type of treatment, viz., the removal from home by court order technique as it actually worked out in certain specific cases handled by the Society. This was done by studying the case from the time it was first referred to the Society until the present, in so far as it was possible to trace the present status of children through home visits, inter-agency inquiries, Massachusetts Commission on Probation records, etc.

## 2. Materials

The materials used for the study were in the main the case

children are, are not mindful of the needs of the children under their care. Its work is definitely of a kind that is not very amenable to adoption as a public task since its functions are more flexible and comprehensive and can be shifted to the problem at hand when privately supported. However in some places it is now believed that the rescue part of the work per se is purely legal and is handled as a public function because it is more or less of a routine matter. Nevertheless the preventive work per se, which is the social work and community organization part of the work of the Society, is still believed to be more adequately carried out by a private agency such as the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, because its program is more flexible by virtue of the fact that it is privately supported, and is less subject to the whims of the legislature and of politicians for the same reason. Whatever protective work is well organized, it is still universally believed that it is better to carry it out under private auspices.



## CHAPTER II. The Research Project

### 1. Purpose and Subject

The idea of the research project originated with a suggestion by Miss Frances Marley, Supervisor Boston Office, M.S.P.C.C., that it would be useful to the work of the Society if someone could go over some cases which had certain common characteristics for correlation purposes, and which would give some idea of the scope, or type, or success, or lack of success of the work of the Society in some one specific phase of its activity. In brief, its purpose was to be an analytic study of the results which accrued from some phase of its treatment program. After much pondering over the subject to be studied in the limited time available it was decided that the study should be devoted to reconditioned child situations in cases where the children were removed from home by court order and then were returned to their homes by the court. These cases covered various lengths of time and involved situations, either improved, remedied, or changed permanently, and were ones in which it was felt by the court and the Society that it was safe to return the children to their own home.

Another purpose of the study was to evaluate a specific type of treatment, viz., the removal from home by court order technique as it actually worked out in certain specific cases handled by the Society. This was done by studying the case from the time it was first referred to the Society until the present, in so far as it was possible to trace the present status of children through home visits, inter-agency inquiries, Massachusetts Commission on Probation records, etc.

### 2. Materials

The materials used for the study were in the main the case



## CHAPTER II. The Research Project

### I. Purpose and Subject

The idea of the research project originated with a suggestion by Miss Frances Marley, Supervisor Boston Office, M.S.E.C.C., that it would be useful to the work of the Society if someone could go over some cases which had certain common characteristics for correlation purposes, and which would give some idea of the scope, or success, or lack of success of the work of the Society in some one specific phase of its activity. In brief, the purpose was to be an analytic study of the results which occurred from some phase of its treatment program. After much pondering over the subject to be studied in the limited time available it was decided that the study should be devoted to recommended child situations in cases where the children were removed from home by court order and then were returned to their homes by the court. These cases covered various lengths of time and involved situations, either improved, remedied, or changed permanently, and were ones in which it was felt by the court and the Society that it was safe to return the children to their own home. Another purpose of the study was to evaluate a specific type of treatment, viz., the removal from home by court order followed as it actually worked out in certain specific cases handled by the Society. This was done by studying the case from the time it was first referred to the Society until the present, in so far as it was possible to trace the present status of children through home visits, inter-agency inquiries, Massachusetts Commission on Probation records, etc.

### 2. Materials

The materials used for the study were in the main the case



records of the Society, the case records of other social agencies, public and private, and the evidence presented by parents, relatives, and friends, of the persons and families studied. The case records of the Society were very complete and furnished the major portion of the materials that were needed as background for the case studies. At first it was thought that there would be time to study one hundred cases, but it finally had to be brought down in number to twenty-five. However, while this somewhat affects the validity of the study from the statistical standpoint yet this is not so important, since the study is primarily a qualitative evaluation with some statistical analyses; to be statistically significant several hundred cases at least would have to be studied over a very wide range of years. For the introductory portion of the thesis, various pamphlets, manuscripts and books from the files and library of the Society were used.

### 3. Research Technique

The case method of study(i.e., evaluation of case history materials) was used and correlations were drawn from the results illustrated by these studies. The family settings and histories were drawn almost entirely from the Society case records which were found to be very complete in this respect. The subsequent histories where obtainable were mostly drawn from case records of other agencies.

The entire study is based on only twenty-five cases(which involved removal of seventy-six children). Each case study was made according to a diagnostic schedule sketched below, and thus an attempt was made to have them consistently similar in order that the conclusions and tables necessary for the final evaluations might be made more amenable to correlation and comparison. In the judgment of the writer, the research technique



records of the Society, the case records of other social agencies, public and private, and the evidence presented by parents, relatives, and friends of the persons and families studied. The case records of the Society were very complete and furnished the major portion of the materials that were needed as background for the case studies. At first it was thought that there would be time to study one hundred cases, but it finally had to be brought down in number to twenty-five. However, while this somewhat affects the validity of the study from the statistical standpoint yet this is not so important, since the study is primarily a qualitative evaluation with some statistical analyses; to be statistically significant several hundred cases at least would have to be studied over a very wide range of years. For the introductory portion of the thesis, various pamphlets, manuscripts and books from the files and library of the Society were used.

### 3. Research Techniques

The case method of study (i.e., evaluation of case history materials) was used and correlations were drawn from the results illustrated by these studies. The family settings and histories were drawn almost entirely from the Society case records which were found to be very complete in this respect. The subsequent histories where obtainable were mostly drawn from case records of other agencies. The entire study is based on only twenty-five cases (which involved removal of seventy-six children). Each case study was made according to a diagnostic schedule sketched below, and thus an attempt was made to have them consistently similar in order that the conclusions and tables necessary for the final evaluation might be made more amenable to correlation and comparison. In the judgment of the writer, the research technique



used is valid because it deals with materials that are based on first hand sources of information and contact (case records), and because all generalizations made herein are based on the data at hand and not on vague theories of what should be rather than on what actually is the case. The writer has not felt justified in making conclusions as to the efficiency of the method of social treatment studied generally, but only as it applied to the work of the Society in the cases studied. The small number of cases studied gives at least an indication of what to expect if a more adequate study could be made or what to look for in another study. This appears to be even more true when we consider that the cases studied were chosen in sequence from the cases in the agents' reports for the year 1927 which reported that children had been returned to the home by court order in that year regardless of the time and conditions under which they were removed. Thus, we have here a fair sampling of cases treated by the Society with a certain and specific method of socio-legal treatment.

#### 4. Contacts with Other Agencies

As mentioned above, contacts with other social agencies, private and public, were largely of the nature of follow-up study in order to get information which the Society records did not contain relative to present status because the Society records had been previously closed. Contacts with other agencies were pleasant and on the whole profitable in gathering data as to the present status of families and children studied, and very frequently obviated the necessity of making of a home visit to ascertain the present status of the family. The Massachusetts Commission on Probation records were extremely useful in checking on delinquencies in this state and the records of the Boston Public Welfare Department were



used is valid because it deals with material that are based on first hand sources of information and contact (case records), and because all generalizations made herein are based on the data at hand and not on various theories of what should be rather than on what actually is the case. The writer has not felt justified in making conclusions as to the efficiency of the method of social treatment studied generally, but only as it applied to the work of the Society in the cases studied. The small number of cases studied gives at least an indication of what to expect if a more adequate study could be made or what to look for in another study. This appears to be even more true when we consider that the cases studied were chosen in sequence from the cases in the agents' reports for the year 1927 which reported that children had been returned to the home by court order in that year regardless of the time and conditions under which they were removed. Thus, we have here a fair sampling of cases treated by the Society with a certain and specific method of socio-legal treatment.

#### 4. Contacts with Other Agencies

As mentioned above, contacts with other social agencies, private and public, were largely of the nature of follow-up study in order to get information which the Society records did not contain relative to present status because the Society records had been previously closed. Contacts with other agencies were pleasant and on the whole profitable in gathering data as to the present status of families and children studied, and very frequently obviated the necessity of making of a home visit to ascertain the present status of the family. The Massachusetts Commission on Probation records were extremely useful in checking on delinquencies in this state and the records of the Boston Public Welfare Department were



useful in checking up on the economic as well as the social status of the families at present. The State Department of Public Welfare records were useful in checking up on state placement of children, state farm records, and state aid records, etc. The records of the State Department of Mental Diseases and of the Department of Correction gave interesting data on intra-and extra-mural experiences of individuals studied in the case records. Many other agencies such as the Boston City Hospital, Family Welfare Society, Catholic Charitable Bureau, Children's Aid Association, Judge Baker Guidance Centre, etc., records proved of great help in the follow-up studies.

#### 5. Contacts with Homes

Contacts with the homes were relatively speaking few in number because of the very complete social records kept by the Society and those found in other public and private social agencies. Where other agencies were active, it was felt that it might be harmful to make further contact with the home since in all probability most of the families wouldn't understand the purpose of the visit and it thus might do some harm. Therefore, only where there was doubt as to the present status of the families and children studied was a home visit made to ascertain what was the situation at present. In most of the homes contacted, the interview was satisfactory as far as the writer's purposes were concerned because even a mere glimpse of the home, neighborhood and parents and children's attitudes in conversation could give some indication of the lasting or temporary (unsuccessful) effects of the Society's treatment program so far as environmental improvement went, and as far as status in family situation of children went. Also valuable information was attained as to school, work,



useful in checking up on the economic as well as the social status of the families at present. The State Department of Public Welfare records were useful in checking up on state placement of children, state farm records, and state aid records, etc. The records of the State Department of Mental Diseases and of the Department of Correction gave interesting data on intra- and extra-mural experiences of individuals studied in the case records. Many other agencies such as the Boston City Hospital, Family Welfare Society, Catholic Charitable Bureau, Children's Aid Association, Judge Baker Guidance Centre, etc., records proved of great help in the follow-up studies.

### 3. Contacts with Homes

Contacts with the homes were relatively speaking few in number because of the very complete social records kept by the Society and those found in other public and private social agencies. Where other agencies were active, it was felt that it might be harmful to make further contact with the home since in all probability most of the families wouldn't understand the purpose of the visit and it thus might be some harm. Therefore, only where there was doubt as to the present status of the families and children studied was a home visit made to ascertain what was the situation at present. In most of the homes contacted, the interview was satisfactory as far as the writer's purposes were concerned because even a mere glimpse of the home, neighborhood and parents and children's attitudes in conversation could give some indication of the lasting or temporary (unsuccessful) effects of the Society's treatment program so far as environmental improvement went, and as far as state in family situation of children went. Also valuable information was obtained as to school work,



marriage, delinquency, behavior, etc., history through the home visits made.

#### 6. Interpretations of Data Gathered

The interpretations of the data gathered consists mainly of evaluations of the method of treatment based upon the data gathered for each case and on a correlation of this data. The tables included in the study are valuable especially for the work of the Society in interpreting not only results but types of cases treated and perhaps indications of results of treatment on various types of individuals, and a comparative study of the relative importance of the sex and ages of the individuals treated. In interpreting data gathered, the writer had to keep in mind continuously the limitations in time, and the number of the cases studied, and make his evaluations of the data accordingly.

The writer then took the cases presented to him and made a thorough study of the fact sheet material and all the information contained in the case records themselves and wrote out his own summaries from the records. Then the writer had the cases indexed with the Social Service Index and all the more recent registrations with the index of 1937 were carefully followed up, and in every case where the index case where it was necessary to gather information that was not present in the case record of the Society. The writer found the records of the Society to be very complete and adequate and often containing follow-up data right up to the date of study. In contacting other social agencies it was found that most of the follow-up data needed was obtained by them since most of the families handled by the Society were still using the services of social agencies even



marriage, delinquency, behavior, etc., history through the home visits made.

### C. Interpretation of Data Gathered

The interpretation of the data gathered consists mainly of evaluations of the method of treatment based upon the data gathered for each case and on a correlation of this data. The tables included in the study are valuable especially for the work of the Society in interpreting not only results but types of cases treated and perhaps indications of results of treatment on various types of individuals, and a comparative study of the relative importance of the sex and age of the individuals treated. In interpreting data gathered, the writer had to keep in mind continuously the limitations in time, and the number of the cases studied, and make his evaluations of the data accordingly.



### CHAPTER III. Comments on Technique Used in The Research

The technique used by writer has been the sampling method and case study method combined. The Society furnished the writer with a group of cases all having this common characteristic that the cases of one or more of the children involved in each of the cases was given court consideration in the year 1927, and that each case contained one or more children who had been removed by court order from their homes because of neglect of the child or children by the parents or guardians. Aside from having these very general characteristics, the cases were not very similar and contained every type of neglect possible ranging all the way from some physical neglect to the most abject physical and moral neglect imaginable. This method made it possible for the writer to concentrate on comparatively few cases(25) and yet have a true sampling of the cases treated by the Society.

The writer then took the cases presented to him and made a thorough study of the face sheet material and all the information contained in the case records themselves and wrote out his case summaries from the records. Then the writer had the cases indexed with the Social Service Index and all the more recent registrations with the index on each were carefully followed up, and in many cases even the older ones where it was necessary to gather information that was not present in the case record of the Society. The writer found the records of the Society to be very copious and adequate and often containing follow-up data right up to the date of study. In contacting other social agencies it was found that most of the follow-up data needed was obtained in them since most of the families handled by the Society were still using the services of social agencies even



The technique used by writer has been the sampling method and case study method combined. The Society furnished the writer with a group of cases all having this common characteristic that the cases of one or more of the children involved in each of the cases was given court consideration in the year 1937, and that each case contained one or more children who had been removed by court order from their homes because of neglect of the child or children by the parents or guardians. Aside from having these very general characteristics, the cases were not very similar and contained every type of neglect possible ranging all the way from some physical neglect to the most abject physical and moral neglect imaginable. This method made it possible for the writer to concentrate on comparatively few cases (23) and yet have a true sampling of the cases treated by the Society.

The writer then took the cases presented to him and made a thorough study of the facts sheet material and all the information contained in the case records themselves and wrote out his case summaries from the records. Then the writer had the cases indexed with the Social Service Index and all the more recent registrations with the index on each were carefully followed up, and in many cases even the older ones where it was necessary to gather information that was not present in the case record of the Society. The writer found the records of the Society to be very copious and adequate and often containing follow-up data right up to the date of study. In contacting other social agencies it was found that most of the follow-up data needed was obtained in them since most of the families handled by the Society were still using the services of social agencies even



though no longer requiring the aid of the Society. This probably was even more true because of the intense economic depression from which the world was suffering at the time this study was being made.

After getting all he could out of social agency records including those of the Society the writer still found his information inadequate for many of the cases and wherever possible the writer made direct contact with the homes and was much impressed by the fact that on the whole he received rather cordial receptions and gathered his most important data on these trips. This part of the study however was very time-consuming and the writer had to keep it down to a minimum because of lack of time to pursue such follow-up studies to the extent to which he would have wished.

After gathering all his data the writer proceeded to study some of the history of the development of neglect laws and methods of treating neglected children and got a clearer perspective on the mass of data which he had gathered and especially on the development and use of the removal from home by court order technique.

Finally the writer gathered together all his materials, and following an outline which he had drawn up at the very beginning of the study, he began to correlate and write up the materials that he had gathered. The writer has used the case study method to present the data gathered and the census method in tabulating important facts and results in order to get a basis for drawing conclusions. The writer wishes to say in closing that this study has been a very arduous task, but has well repaid the effort expended and recommends further studies along such lines as the present in order that more knowledge may be obtained and critical evaluations may be made of the work of those interested in the neglect problem and in the methods used or to be used in meeting it.



though no longer requiring the aid of the Society. This probably was even more true because of the intense economic depression from which the world was suffering at the time this study was being made.

After getting all he could out of social agency records including those of the Society the writer still found his information inadequate for many of the cases and wherever possible the writer made direct contact with the homes and was much impressed by the fact that on the whole he received rather cordial receptions and gathered his most important data on these trips. This part of the study however was very time-consuming and the writer had to keep it down to a minimum because of lack of time to pursue such follow-up studies to the extent to which he would have wished. After gathering all his data the writer proceeded to study

some of the history of the development of neglect laws and methods of treating neglected children and got a clearer perspective on the mass of data which he had gathered and especially on the development and use of the removal from home by court order technique.

Finally the writer gathered together all his materials and following an outline which he had drawn up at the very beginning of the study, he began to correlate and write up the materials that he had gathered. The writer has used the case study method to present the data gathered and the census method in tabulating important facts and results in order to get a basis for drawing conclusions. The writer wishes to say in closing that this study has been a very arduous task, but has well repaid the effort expended and recommends further studies along such lines as the present in order that more knowledge may be obtained and critical evaluations may be made of the work of those interested in the neglect problem and in the methods used or to be used in meeting it.



## PART TWO

## CASE HISTORIES AND ANALYSES

## CHAPTER I. Diagnostic Schedule

## 1. Home Situation

Home situation or setting is the first matter discussed in the case studies and is a verbal picture of the physical conditions of the home as far as is known, the condition of the parents (occupational, social, familial, etc.), the number and condition of the children, others in the household, religion of the parents, nationality of the parents, social and economic position of the family, complaint and reason for complaint.

## 2. Favorable and Unfavorable Factors in the Situation

This category is almost self-explanatory and is an evaluation of the factors in the family situation which are favorable to the continuance of the family constellation and those which are working against the family constellation. It also includes an evaluation of the policy of removing the children from the home or allowing them to remain and working with the parents to change the situation in relation to each case studied.

## 3. Attempts at Adjustment

Includes a critical description of the measures taken to remedy the existing bad situation in the home; in a word, is a description of the social work done by the Society agent or case worker on the family in order to avoid court treatment and to try to utilize the inherent values in the family in alleviating the sore spots, to so rearrange the situation as to make it possible to retain the children involved in the family constellation in which they belong and in which, when all goes well, they



## CASE HISTORIES AND ANALYSIS

## CHAPTER I. Diagnostic Schedule

## I. Home Situation

Home situation or setting is the first matter discussed in the case studies and is a verbal picture of the physical conditions of the home as far as is known, the condition of the parents (occupational, social, familial, etc.), the number and condition of the children, others in the household, religion of the parents, nationality of the parents, social and economic position of the family, complaint and reason for complaint.

## 2. Favorable and Unfavorable Factors in the Situation

This category is almost self-explanatory and is an evaluation of the factors in the family situation which are favorable to the continuance of the family constellation and those which are working against the family constellation. It also includes an evaluation of the policy of removing the children from the home or allowing them to remain and working with the parents to change the situation in relation to each case studied.

## 3. Attempts at Adjustment

Includes a critical description of the measures taken to remedy the existing bad situation in the home; in a word, is a description of the social work done by the Society agent or case worker on the family in order to avoid court treatment and to try to utilize the inherent values in the family in alleviating the sore spots, to so reorganize the situation as to make it possible to retain the children involved in the family constellation in which they belong and in which, when all goes well, they



develop best and most normally.

#### 4. Reasons for Failure

This is an elaboration of the above and demonstrates how and why the social worker was not successful in remedying the situation by means of the regular social work techniques, and why it became necessary to remove the children from their safety and future welfare, and how the neglect law of the Commonwealth provided for the treatment pointed out by the social situation at hand.

#### 5. Removal from Home by Court Order

Describes the actual court case, and disposition and the conditions surrounding the removal of the children from the home and techniques used to bring this about. Also depicts the reactions of the parents and children and what they thought about it at the time.

#### 6. Treatment and Disposal of the Children

Describes what it proposes. It includes the type of treatment administered, viz., placement in foster home, institution, home of relatives or friends, etc., and describes the new situation of the children and their reaction to it. Also relates story of parents reactions to the treatment program as far as known, and the effects of the treatment on them and on the home situation.

#### 7. Returned to Home by Court Order

Depicts the conditions surrounding the application of parents for return of the children to home, the new home situation to which the children are returning, the return of the children to the home, and the reactions of parents and children to the return.

develop best and most normally.

#### 4. Reasons for Failure

This is an elaboration of the above and demonstrates how and why the social worker was not successful in remedying the situation by means of the regular social work techniques, and why it became necessary to remove the children from their safety and future welfare, and how the neglect law of the Commonwealth provided for the treatment pointed out by the social situation at hand.

#### 5. Removal from Home by Court Order

Describes the actual court case, and disposition and the conditions surrounding the removal of the children from the home and techniques used to bring this about. Also depicts the reactions of the parents and children and what they thought about it at the time.

#### 6. Treatment and Disposal of the Children

Describes what is proposed. It includes the type of treatment administered, viz., placement in foster home, institution, home of relatives or friends, etc., and describes the new situation of the children and their reaction to it. Also relates story of parents' reactions to the treatment program as far as known, and the effects of the treatment on them and on the home situation.

#### 7. Returned to Home by Court Order

Depicts the conditions surrounding the application of parents for return of the children to home, the new home situation to which the children are returning, the return of the children to the home, and the reactions of parents and children to the return.



### 8. Subsequent History

Is an analytic study of the child's situation in home, further removals, adjustments to new situations, conditions under which the children subsist, conditions warranting further removals, attempts to adjust family situation by social work techniques, successes and failures, attempts at remedying further neglect or abuse of children, economic situation of the family and individual members of the family.

### 9. Present Disposition

Includes all the results obtained from a study of the present data available on the families studied. The present condition of the children and parents socially, economically, physically, mentally, etc. are considered. Also a study is made of the relative living conditions of the children now as compared to time of referral of case, and betterment or lack of betterment of the situation of the children is noted.

### 8. Subsequent History

Is an analytic study of the child's situation in home, further removals, adjustments to new situations, conditions under which the children exist, conditions warranting further removals, attempts to adjust family situation by social work techniques, successes and failures, attempts at remedying further neglect or abuse of children, economic situation of the family and individual members of the family.

### 9. Present Disposition

Includes all the results obtained from a study of the present data available on the families studied. The present condition of the children and parents socially, economically, physically, mentally, etc. are considered. Also a study is made of the relative living conditions of the children now as compared to time of referral of case, and betterment or lack of betterment of the situation of the children is noted.



## CHAPTER II. Case Histories

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOLLOWING CASE HISTORIES

SPCC- Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

HDCC- Home for Destitute Catholic Children

CCB- Catholic Charitable Bureau

OPW- Overseers of the Public Welfare

DCG- Division of Child Guardianship of the State Department of Public Welfare

JBGC- Judge Baker Guidance Centre

FWS- Family Welfare Society

CAS or CAA - Children's Aid Association

CFS- Children's Friend Society

HGS- House of the Good Shepherd

BCH- Boston City Hospital

MGH- Massachusetts General Hospital

with a maternal aunt living in a nearby suburb. The maternal uncle expressed willingness to keep Helen if Father would pay her board. On 10-10-26, a complaint of neglect was brought before the Juvenile Court and the case was continued for four days. Helen was committed to the care of her maternal uncle. In the meanwhile, Helen remained in the home of her maternal uncle.

The parents were both incapable of working for the children. Father because of his drunkenness and immoral character, and the mother because of her emotional instability and hospitalization. Helen reported that there was drinking and gambling at the home and that drunken men were often about the house. There appeared to be no factors that would lead one to advise retaining the children in the home at the time of referral of

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOLLOWING CASE HISTORIES

<u>SPCC</u>	- Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
<u>HDCC</u>	- Home for Destitute Catholic Children
<u>CCB</u>	- Catholic Charitable Bureau
<u>OPW</u>	- Overseers of the Public Welfare
<u>DG</u>	- Division of Child Guardianship of the State Department of Public Welfare
<u>JBGC</u>	- Judge Baker Guidance Center
<u>FW</u>	- Family Welfare Society
<u>CAS</u> or <u>CAA</u>	- Children's Aid Association
<u>CFS</u>	- Children's Friend Society
<u>HGS</u>	- House of the Good Shepherd
<u>BCH</u>	- Boston City Hospital
<u>MGH</u>	- Massachusetts General Hospital



CHAPTER II. Case Histories  
(according to schedule)

Case I. W.FAMILY

Helen- nine years and six months; Alexander- six years and eleven months  
(in all cases children's age as of first removal)

The parents were of Polish birth. Father was a long-shoreman and mother worked out to help replenish the family income which was continually depleted by father's drinking. Mother emotionally unstable and of low grade intelligence. Had suffered a mental breakdown, said to have come as the result of father's lack of cooperation. Father now dead. When he was alive, he was a heavy drinker, immoral, and abusive. On the whole, he contributed a very unwholesome influence to the already disordered family situation. Mother could not control the children and at the time of referral, 9-17-26, the two children were in the home where they were terribly neglected. Mother was in the Boston State Hospital at the time and the agent assigned to the case advised father to place children with a maternal aunt living in a nearby suburb. The maternal uncle expressed willingness to keep Helen if father would pay her board. On 10-18-26, a complaint of neglect was brought before the Juvenile Court and the case was continued for four days. Helen was arraigned and a warrant was issued for Alexander. In the meanwhile, Helen remained in the home of her maternal uncle.

The parents were both incapable of caring for the children. Father because of his drunkenness and immoral character, and the mother because of her emotional instability and hospitalization. Helen reported that there was drinking and gambling at the home and that drunken men were often about the house. There appeared to be no factors that would lead one to advise retaining the children in the home at the time of referral of



CHAPTER II. Case Histories  
(according to schedule)

Case I. W. FAMILY

Heisen - nine years and six months; Alexander - six years and eleven months  
(in all cases children's age as of first removal)

The parents were of Polish birth. Father was a long-  
shotman and mother worked out to help replenish the family income which  
was continually depleted by father's drinking. Mother emotionally un-  
stable and of low grade intelligence. Had suffered a mental breakdown,  
said to have come as the result of father's lack of cooperation. Father  
now dead. When he was alive, he was a heavy drinker, immoral, and abusive.  
On the whole, he contributed a very unwholesome influence to the already  
disordered family situation. Mother could not control the children and at  
the time of referral, 9-14-36, the two children were in the home where they  
were terribly neglected. Mother was in the Boston State Hospital at the  
time and the agent assigned to the case advised father to place children  
with a maternal aunt living in a nearby suburb. The maternal uncle ex-  
pressed willingness to keep Heisen if father would pay her board. On  
10-18-36, a complaint of neglect was brought before the Juvenile Court and  
the case was continued for four days. Heisen was arraigned and a warrant  
was issued for Alexander. In the meanwhile, Heisen remained in the home of  
her maternal uncle.

The parents were both incapable of caring for the children.  
Father because of his drunkenness and immoral character, and the mother be-  
cause of her emotional instability and hospitalization. Heisen reported  
that there was drinking and gambling at the home and that drunken men were  
often about the house. There appeared to be no factors that would lead  
one to advise retaining the children in the home at the time of referral of



the case to the Society. An investigation was made of the home and there were found to be inadequate protection of the children from immoral influences, especially since there was some question of immorality between Helen and a degenerate young man in the neighborhood. Also the father refused to cooperate in way demanded by the Society and it was felt that children must be removed from the home in order that their integrity, moral and otherwise might be preserved.

On 10-18-26, Helen was removed, and on 10-19-26, Alexander was removed from the home by court order, and both were placed with the S.P.C.C. Temporary Home for temporary care. On 10-22-26, Helen was adjudged neglected and allowed to remain in the home of her maternal aunt. Alexander slipped away from court and did not return till 10-25-26 when he was sent to the Home for Destitute Catholic Children (hereinafter referred to as the H.D.C.C. in this and all the other cases).

The children were thus placed away from the home. In the meanwhile, it was discovered that the father was slowly using up mother's bank account, and he was removed as guardian of the account and General Secretary of the S.P.C.C. was appointed guardian of the account in trust of the children. The father of the children died on 11-9-26 at the Boston City Hospital as the result of an accident when he slipped on some ice and injured his spine.

On 1-15-27, Helen was treated at the G.U. clinic of the Massachusetts General Hospital (hereinafter referred to as the M.G.H.) and the smear proved to be suspicious. On February 16, 1927 the Overseers of the Public Welfare decided to give the mother aid since children had been returned between January seventh and thirteenth. On July first the case was filed, and on November twenty-fourth the mother received full discharge



the case to the Society. An investigation was made of the home and there were found to be inadequate protection of the children from immoral influences, especially since there was some question of immorality between Helen and a degenerate young man in the neighborhood. Also the father refused to cooperate in way demanded by the Society and it was felt that children must be removed from the home in order that their integrity, moral and otherwise might be preserved.

On 10-18-26, Helen was removed, and on 10-19-26, Alexander was removed from the home by court order, and both were placed with the S.P.C.C. Temporary Home for temporary care. On 10-23-26, Helen was adjudged neglected and allowed to remain in the home of her maternal aunt. Alexander slipped away from court and did not return till 10-25-26 when he was sent to the Home for Destitute Catholic Children (hereinafter referred to as the H.D.C.C. in this and all the other cases).

The children were thus placed away from the home. In the meanwhile, it was discovered that the father was slowly using up mother's bank account, and he was removed as guardian of the account and General Secretary of the S.P.C.C. was appointed guardian of the account in first of the children. The father of the children died on 11-9-26 at the Boston City Hospital as the result of an accident when he slipped on some ice and injured his spine.

On 1-13-27, Helen was treated at the G.U. clinic of the Massachusetts General Hospital (hereinafter referred to as the M.G.H.) and the same proved to be suspicious. On February 13, 1927 the Overseers of the Public Welfare decided to give the mother and since children had been returned between January seventh and thirteenth. On July first the case was filed, and on November twenty-fourth the mother received full discharge



from the Boston State Hospital.

According to the Judge Baker Guidance Centre (JBGC) record on Alexander, the mother was committed to hospital on 6-8-26 for undiagnosed psychoses. Father was considered of low-grade intelligence and mother made complaint of father's excessive sex demands. The mother was finally released from the hospital on visit on November 24, 1926, and discharged on November 24, 1927. The final diagnosis on her case was manic-depressive, stuporous type, condition improved, below average intelligence, slow in movements, irritable, and unstable emotionally. On January 1, 1927 mother applied to Mother's Aid and was given \$13 a week which was later increased. On June 18, 1929 mother reported to Mother's Aid that Alexander had become very unruly.

On January 18, 1930, according to the JBGC record, Alexander was before the court for B&E(burglary and entry)&L(larceny) into two schools on January sixth and seventh. Because the mother couldn't suggest any home to place Alexander, he was committed to the Department of Public Welfare as stubborn child.

On January twenty-seventh Alexander was sent to the Division of Child Guardianship on a temporary mittimus, and on September twenty-fourth the Division of Child Guardianship(DCG) recorded him as troublesome and question of placement in Lyman was raised. On October 31, 1931, the boy was committed by the Cambridge Court to Lyman for B&E&L. The people who had the boy during August and September of 1930 wanted to get rid of him because he was unmanageable. On November 30, 1930 Alexander was discharged from custody. In the court Alexander reported name of boy who was leader and also the name of the boy who taught him to steal. Alexander was found delinquent and given suspended sentence to the



Alexander was found delinquent and given suspended sentence to the  
who was leader and also the name of the boy who taught him to steal.  
was discharged from custody. In the court Alexander reported name of boy  
rid of him because he was unmanageable. On November 30, 1930 Alexander  
people who had the boy during August and September of 1930 wanted to get  
1931, the boy was committed by the Cambridge Court to Lyman for B&L. The  
troublesome and question of placement in Lyman was raised. On October 31,  
twenty-fourth the Division of Child Guardianship (DGC) recorded him as  
Division of Child Guardianship on a temporary witness, and on September  
On January twenty-seventh Alexander was sent to the  
Public Welfare as stubborn child.  
suggest any home to place Alexander, he was committed to the Department of  
two schools on January sixth and seventh. Because the mother couldn't  
Alexander was before the court for B&L (burglary and entry) info  
On January 18, 1930, according to the DGC record,  
very unwell.  
On June 18, 1929 mother reported to Mother's Aid that Alexander had become  
applied to Mother's Aid and was given \$13 a week which was later increased.  
movements, irritable, and unstable emotionally. On January 1, 1929 mother  
stagey type, condition improved, below average intelligence, slow in  
November 24, 1927. The final diagnosis on her case was manic-depressive,  
leased from the hospital on visit on November 24, 1926, and discharged on  
complaint of father's excessive sex demands. The mother was finally re-  
psychoses. Father was considered of low-grade intelligence and mother made  
on Alexander, the mother was committed to hospital on 8-8-26 for undiagnosed  
According to the Judge Baker Guidance Centre (JBG) record  
from the Boston State Hospital.



Department of Public Welfare and placed on probation for a year. At this time, Alexander was reported to be a bully in school and somewhat of a truant.

The JBGC summary as a result of their study of the boy in 1930 came to the following conclusions. The boy was considered well developed physically, and well-nourished. He had poor posture, fair strength, and poor chest expansion. Also there was slight strabismus of the left eye, though his vision was fair. He had a mature face and shrewd, quizzical look. Mentally he had fairly good general ability on age level tests. May have an abnormal personality, egocentric unstable(?). Minds discipline at home and school. Is slow in learning and has a reputation of being a bully and untruthful. His delinquencies were and are many. His record with the Massachusetts Commission on Probation is as follows:

1- 4-30	Use of horse and team
1-11-30	B&E&L
1-11-30	B&E building
1-25-30	B&E Night
1-27-30	B&E
2- 6-30	Surrendered
8- 1-31	B&E&L
10-31-31	B&E
11-17-31	Runaway
11-21-31	Larceny
7-10-31	Speeding(116A)
10- 1-31	B&E&L Night
3-29-34	Parole 10/3/40
4-13-34	DB&E
4-17-34	Parole revoked and committed to the Shirley Industrial School

In relation to the background, his heredity was reported as being poor. Father alcoholic, abusive sexually, immoral, non-supporter. Mother psychotic(manic-depressive). Habits - late hours. Home conditions very poor. Now living in comfortable tenement conditions (i.e., in 1930), but in bad neighborhood. The father was never interested in the children. He was

Department of Public Welfare and placed on probation for a year. At this time, Alexander was reported to be a bully in school and somewhat of a truant.

The 1930 summary as a result of their study of the boy in

1930 came to the following conclusions. The boy was considered well developed physically, and well-ventilated. He had poor posture, fair strength, and poor chest expansion. Also there was slight strabismus of the left eye, though his vision was fair. He had a square face and showed physical look. Mentally he had fairly good general ability on age level tests. May have an abnormal personality, ego-centric unstable(?). Needs discipline at home and school. Is slow in learning and has a reputation of being a bully and untruthful. His delinquencies were and are many. His record with the Massachusetts Commission on Probation is as follows:

1-4-30	Use of force and tam
1-11-30	RECEIVED
1-11-30	RECEIVED
1-25-30	RECEIVED
1-27-30	RECEIVED
2-6-30	RECEIVED
8-1-31	RECEIVED
10-31-31	RECEIVED
11-17-31	RECEIVED
11-31-31	RECEIVED
7-10-32	RECEIVED
10-1-32	RECEIVED
3-28-34	RECEIVED
4-13-34	RECEIVED
4-17-34	RECEIVED

Parole revoked and committed to the Shirley Industrial School

In relation to the background, his heredity was reported as being poor. Father alcoholic, abusive sexually, immoral, non-supporter. Mother psychotic (manic-depressive). Habits - late hours. Home conditions very poor. Now living in comfortable tenement conditions (i.e., in 1930), but in bad neighborhood. The father was never interested in the children. He was



abusive and created an immoral atmosphere. The mother herself was an unstable woman and subject to spells of instability. Alexander was attached to mother in a rather childish way.

In the realm of direct causations, Alexander's personality was regarded as unstable but shrewd. His home conditions were regarded as poor and lacking in supervision. He had very bad delinquent gang associations earlier, but with no deterrence and as to present companionships, there was a great deal of criminal ideation and probably considerable habit formation by the time of the examination. Finally it was considered that he lacked good standards.

Concerning the prognosis for Alexander's future, there was not very much hope. It was felt that if he remained at home it was entirely hopeless. Permanent placement was strongly recommended, partly because it was felt that mother would never be normal. It was felt that Alexander needed a long period of training to establish better standards. Especially did he need good healthy athletics. Boy's retardation in school was also a cause of worry over prognosis, especially since he had normal intelligence and there was no adequate reason for this.

The mother was reported to be a stocky, middle-aged woman of florid complexion and pock-marked face. She was well-dressed and was excessively emotional. One of her hands was found to be larger than the other. She had no schooling and could speak only Lithuanian. Appeared to be mentally dull. Father was born in Poland and died of a broken neck. Though in the U.S. for twenty-one years, he was an alien. His health was good and he was very strong weighing two hundred pounds. He went to night school and spoke several languages. When alive he was abusive to mother and the children. He worked as a longshoreman and made between five and



abusive and created an immoral atmosphere. The mother herself was an unstable woman and subject to spells of instability. Alexander was attached to mother in a rather childish way.

In the realm of direct communications, Alexander's personality was regarded as unstable but shrewd. His home conditions were regarded as poor and lacking in supervision. He had very bad delinquent gang associations earlier, but with no delinquency and as to present communications, there was a great deal of criminal ideation and probably considerable habit formation by the time of the examination. Finally it was considered that he lacked good standards.

Concerning the prognosis for Alexander's future, there was not very much hope. It was felt that if he remained at home it was entirely hopeless. Permanent placement was strongly recommended, partly because it was felt that mother would never be normal. It was felt that Alexander needed a long period of training to establish better standards. Especially did he need good healthy athletics. Boy's recreation in school was also a course of worry over prognosis, especially since he had normal intelligence and there was no adequate reason for this.

The mother was reported to be a stocky, middle-aged woman of florid complexion and good-natured face. She was well-dressed and was excessively emotional. One of her hands was found to be larger than the other. She had no schooling and could speak only Lithuanian. Appeared to be mentally dull. Father was born in Poland and died of a broken neck. Though in the U.S. for twenty-one years, he was an alien. His health was good and he was very strong weighing two hundred pounds. He went to night school and spoke several languages. When alive he was abusive to mother and the children. He worked as a longshoreman and made between five and



twenty dollars a week. Never worked unless driven to do so. He was also an excessive alcoholic and was hypersexual. Had a long court record for drunkenness.

Alexander had a normal post-natal development. He was nervous and had only had measles. Also there were some headaches and some enuresis. In the field of habits, he was a good sleeper, had a good appetite, and though mother suspected masturbation the boy denied it.

The psychological report as of January 28, 1930 reports Alexander as having a mature, shrewd, quizzical, smug, fantastic mind. Also he was talkative, frank, matter of fact but nervous. Tried to appear grown up. Had I.Q. of 88 and a mental age of 9.

The Department of Mental Diseases reported mother sent to the Boston State Hospital in December of 1931. She was permitted to go on visit in July of 1932 and was discharged in July of 1933.

The Boys Parole record has the following recent data on Alexander. He is now(November 1934) at the Shirley Industrial School, having been transferred from Lyman on 6-14-34. On April 17, 1934, he was returned to Lyman for burglary and entry and larceny at night. He was transferred to Shirley School because he had not done well at Lyman and they thought that he might do better at Shirley with older boys. Has run from Lyman School at least six times. Personality from their standpoint is that he is the result of little parental control because there was no respect for the mother who is unintelligent and cannot give proper supervision; father dead. Alexander was committed to Lyman on 10-31-31 and was first paroled on 3-29-34. First returned on 4-12-34 and then transferred to Shirley on 6-14-34 where he now is.

On 11-14-34, writer made a home visit, and Helen(Now Mrs.B.)



twenty dollars a week. Never worked unless driven to do so. He was also an excessive alcoholic and was hypersexual. Had a long court record for drunkenness.

Alexander had a normal post-natal development. He was nervous and had only few nerves. Also there were some handicaps and some enuresis. In the field of habits, he was a good sleeper, had a good appetite, and though mother suspected masturbation the boy denied it.

The psychological report as of January 28, 1930 reports Alexander as having a mature, shrewd, practical, and, fantastic mind. Also he was talkative, frank, matter of fact but nervous. Tried to appear grown up. Had I.Q. of 88 and a mental age of 9.

The Department of Mental Diseases reported mother sent to the Boston State Hospital in December of 1921. She was permitted to go on visit in July of 1923 and was discharged in July of 1928.

The Boys' Record has the following recent data on Alexander. He is now (November 1934) at the Shirley Industrial School, having been transferred from Lyman on 6-14-34. On April 17, 1934, he was returned to Lyman for burglary and entry and larceny at night. He was transferred to Shirley School because he had not done well at Lyman and they thought that he might do better at Shirley with older boys. Has run from Lyman School at least six times. Personality from their standpoint is that he is the result of little parental control because there was no respect for the mother who is unintelligent and cannot give proper supervision; father dead. Alexander was committed to Lyman on 10-21-31 and was first paroled on 3-22-34. First returned on 4-12-34 and then transferred to Shirley on 6-14-34 where he now is.

On 11-14-34, writer made a home visit, and Helen (Now Mrs. A.)



met writer at the door. The present home is situated opposite a slaughterhouse for cattle. The stench from this enterprise ruins what could easily be a nice suburban area. The house in which they live is an old wooden frame house of the poorest quality. The wooden stairs are rickety and the poverty which the building houses is apparent on every side. The writer saw only the kitchen which contained a cot on which the mother sleeps. There were also a table, a few chairs and a cupboard and stove; but still the room looked bare. Helen married her Lithuanian husband a year ago. She showed writer a picture of him which revealed a rather handsome fellow in his early twenties. He is a counterman in a nearby saloon. She says that he neither drinks nor smokes. There are no children as yet and Helen says that they are very happy. Helen herself is a large, strapping blonde girl of ordinary appearance and though pale, appears to be healthy. She said that her mother was well and was staying with her and that all was well. Mother still works out occasionally. Helen said that Alexander when he committed his last offense entered a vacant store with some boys to look around and was caught in the act and committed to Lyman. According to Helen's description of the boy he seems to be very unstable and probably is a psychopathic personality. He was always restless at home and truant from school. He ran away from Lyman several times and is now at Shirley. At the institutions where he has been, Alexander is always placed in the worst cottage as he is considered to be a bad boy and unwieldy. At home he gets along with everyone except for minor quarrels with Helen. He is very suggestible and does what the other fellows tell him to do although he usually disobeys mother and sister. Helen says that he is a handsome boy and is quite attractive to girls. Also he writes nice letters home.



met writer at the door. The present home is situated opposite a slaughter-  
house for cattle. The stench from this enterprise ruins what could easily  
be a nice suburban area. The house in which they live is an old wooden  
frame house of the poorest quality. The wooden stairs are rickety and the  
poverty which the building houses is apparent on every side. The writer  
saw only the kitchen which contained a cot on which the mother sleeps.  
There were also a table, a few chairs and a cupboard and stove; but still  
the room looked bare. Helen married her Lithuanian husband a year ago. She  
showed writer a picture of him which revealed a rather handsome fellow in  
his early twenties. He is a counterman in a meaty saloon. She says that  
he neither drinks nor smokes. There are no children as yet and Helen says  
that they are very happy. Helen herself is a large, strapping blonde girl  
of ordinary appearance and though pale, appears to be healthy. She said  
that her mother was well and was staying with her and that all was well.  
Mother still works out occasionally. Helen said that Alexander when he  
committed his last offense entered a vacant store with some boys to look  
around and was caught in the act and committed to prison. According to  
Helen's description of the boy he seems to be very unstable and probably is  
a psychopathic personality. He was always restless at home and truant  
from school. He ran away from home several times and is now at thirty.  
At the institutions where he has been, Alexander is always placed in the  
worst cottage as he is considered to be a bad boy and unwieldy. At home he  
gets along with everyone except for minor quarrels with Helen. He is very  
suggestible and does what the other fellows tell him to do although he  
usually disobeys mother and sister. Helen says that he is a handsome boy  
and is quite attractive to girls. Also he writes nice letters home.



NOTE:

It is interesting to surmise in this case what accounts for the boy's different personality and for the fact that his experiences have been so different from those of his sister who suffered from the same type of poor environment as he did. In a way Helen's difficulties might have been even worse than his, when we recollect that as a little girl she was the victim of a degenerate young man who led her into sex practices when she was only about nine years of age. From the evidence at hand and from the fact that both had practically the same treatment we can deduce the fact that probably the divergent experiences of these two siblings is to be accounted for by the fact that they have different personalities. Helen is probably a person who can weather certain trauma, and with ordinary care can be made to forget the sad experiences that she had and to readjust herself to her new environment in foster homes and in her own improved home situation. On the other hand, we see that Alexander's personality lacks show themselves even when he was first placed out in foster homes. Immediately he gave trouble and in no place could he adjust. He finally had to be sent to Lyman School for disciplinary training. Unfortunately this does not seem to have had the desired effect as he is still a disintegrated personality and was barely out on parole for a month when he had to be brought back to the institution for committing the same delinquencies as those for which he had first been committed. In brief, the evidence at hand indicates a distinct personality deficiency in Alexander and that the treatment offered in the neglect situation would have been as successful with him as it has been with Helen, all things being equal, if he had had a personality that was integrated and stable.



NOTE:

It is interesting to surmise in this case what accounts for the boy's different personality and for the fact that his experiences have been so different from those of his sister who suffered from the same type of poor environment as he did. In a way Helen's difficulties might have been even worse than his, when we recollect that as a little girl she was the victim of a degenerate young man who led her into sex practices when she was only about nine years of age. From the evidence at hand and from the fact that both had practically the same treatment we can deduce the fact that probably the divergent experiences of these two siblings is to be accounted for by the fact that they have different personalities. Helen is probably a person who can weather certain trauma, and with ordinary care can be made to forget the sad experiences that she had and to redirect herself to her new environment in foster home and in her own improved home situation. On the other hand, we see that Alexander's personality lacks show themselves even when he was first placed out in foster home. Immediately he gave trouble and in no place could he adjust. He finally had to be sent to Lyman School for delinquency training. Unfortunately this does not seem to have had the desired effect as he is still a disintegrated personality and was barely out on parole for a month when he had to be brought back to the institution for committing the same delinquencies as those for which he had first been committed. In brief, the evidence at hand indicates a distinct personality deficiency in Alexander and that the treatment offered in the neglect situation would have been as successful with him as it has been with Helen, all things being equal. If he had had a personality that was integrated and stable.



## Case II. G.FAMILY

Florence- eight years and eight months; Nancy- six years; Mary- five years and four months; Salvatore- two years and six months.

At the time of referral of this case 12-21-26, the mother was reported as neglecting children. Principal of the school which Florence attended reported Florence repeatedly absent. Child averred that mother was sick in hospital, but this was thought to be untrue. Home reported very filthy and children fearfully neglected. Mother working to support the family. Father deserted in April of 1923. Father had deserted after mother reported his abuse of her to the police. Father had been married previous to marriage to mother and left first wife. Divorced latter and after marriage to mother deserted mother. It was later found that he had had another wife all along. At the time of referral the mother was reported to be immoral. She already had had two illegitimate children, Salvatore and Maria. Also mother had refused to allow children to go to MGH Eye and Ear Infirmary for necessary care. In the year of 1922-23, the MGH Infantile Paralysis clinic had been treating Nancy and had to give up finally because of lack of cooperation on mother's part. On January 18, 1927, it was reported that children home with serious case of impetigo.

The situation in the home was thus seen to be unfavorable to the welfare of the children. There was no father responsible for their support and the mother had to work out to support them and hence neglected them. Besides all these unfavorable factors, the mother was immoral and was bringing new illegitimate children into the world.

All the attempts at adjustment failed and the situation became so untenable that a complaint of neglect was made to the court on January 19, 1927 and on January twenty-second the children were sent to the



Case II. C. FAMILY  
Florence - eight years and eight months; Henry - six years; Mary - five years and four months; Salvatore - two years and six months.  
At the time of referral of this case 12-21-35, the mother was reported as neglecting children. Principal of the school which Florence attended reported Florence reportedly absent. Child averred that mother was sick in hospital, but this was thought to be untrue. Home reported very filthy and children fearfully neglected. Mother working to support the family. Father deserted in April of 1933. Father had deserted after mother reported his abuse of her to the police. Father had been married previous to marriage to mother and left first wife. Divorced father and after marriage to mother deserted mother. It was later found that he had had another wife all along. At the time of referral the mother was reported to be immoral. She already had had two illegitimate children, Salvatore and Maria. Also mother had refused to allow children to go to MGH Eye and Ear Infirmary for necessary care. In the year of 1933-34, the MGH Infirmary Pediatric clinic had been treating Henry and had to give up finally because of lack of cooperation on mother's part. On January 19, 1937, it was reported that children home with serious case of impetigo.  
The situation in the home was thus seen to be unfavorable to the welfare of the children. There was no father responsible for their support and the mother had to work out to support them and hence neglected them. Besides all these unfavorable factors, the mother was immoral and was bringing new illegitimate children into the world.  
All the attempts at adjustment failed and the situation became so untenable that a complaint of neglect was made to the court on January 19, 1937 and on January twenty-second the children were sent to the



Division of Child Guardianship. On February 26, 1927 the mother promised to give the children all necessary care and showed improved home conditions to court. Children were returned to mother all except Salvatore who remained in the care and custody of the DCG. On April 2, 1927 Salvatore returned by the court to mother's home. Mother warned to give children better care.

On March 15, 1927, the principal who lodged the initial complaint reported all the children(Florence and Nancy) in school and doing well. On April 2, 1927 when Salvatore was returned, mother was told to send Nancy to the MGH for her eye condition and the condition due to her infantile paralysis. On April 9, 1927 Nancy was reported seen by the MGH Infantile Paralysis clinic. On April 16, 1927 mother signed ether permit at MGH Sclerosis clinic for Hook operation on Mary. On May 17, 1927 Nancy was reported ready for discharge and six weeks free convalescence was arranged through the Children's Mission free of charge. On June 7, 1927 family was reported well.

On August 8, 1927, the Childrens Hospital reported Salvatore's condition to be very poor. The next report is as of February and March of 1928 when mother was again on probation for larceny of twenty-nine dollars from a department store in company with another married woman. Also a man interested in the family situation reported home conditions as being miserable. On March 21, 1928 mother reports court order to putative father, who was neighbor, to pay five dollars a week support for Salvatore. On May eighteenth it was found that mother suddenly moved to another suburb. Mother now found to be living with a bootlegger and a gun-toter. On May 28, 1928 mother was arrested and on May twenty-ninth she received a sentence of three months to the House of the Good Shepherd, and on the same date



Division of Child Guardianship. On February 26, 1937 the mother promised to give the children all necessary care and showed improved home conditions to court. Children were returned to mother all except Salvatore who remained in the care and custody of the DCS. On April 2, 1937 Salvatore returned by the court to mother's home. Mother wanted to give children better care.

On March 15, 1937, the principal who lodged the initial complaint reported all the children (Florence and Nancy) in school and doing well. On April 2, 1937 when Salvatore was returned, mother was told to send Nancy to the MCH for her eye condition and the condition due to her infantile paralysis. On April 9, 1937 Nancy was reported seen by the MCH Infantile Paralysis clinic. On April 16, 1937 mother signed ether permit at MCH Salvatore clinic for Hook operation on May 17, 1937. Nancy was reported ready for discharge and six weeks free convalescence was arranged through the Children's Mission free of charge. On June 7, 1937 family was reported well.

On August 6, 1937, the Children's Hospital reported Salvatore's condition to be very poor. The next report is an of February and March of 1938 when mother was again on probation for larceny of twenty-nine dollars from a department store in company with another married woman. Also a man interested in the family situation reported home conditions as being miserable. On March 21, 1938 mother reports court order to putative father, who was neighbor, to pay five dollars a week support for Salvatore. On May eighteenth it was found that mother suddenly moved to another suburb. Mother now found to be living with a bootlegger and a gun-toter. On May 28, 1938 mother was arrested and on May twenty-ninth she received a sentence of three months to the House of the Good Shepherd, and on the same date



Florence, Nancy, Mary, and Salvatore were permanently committed to the DCG. On February 21, 1932 mother was reported to have given birth to second illegitimate child and mother's probation officer tried to make complaint of neglect. But mother was earning eighteen dollars per week and putative father was paying four dollars a week. Hence probation officer asked the SPCC to withdraw the complaint of neglect.

Mother's recent record is as follows:

- 8- 9-27 Larceny
- 5-29-28 Default removed
- 12-12-30 Default warrant
- 1- 6-31 Adultery
- 3- 6-31 Adultery
- 4-29-32 Fraud conceal
- 6-15-33 Default removed(4-29-32)

Mother's probation officer reports father of child forty-one years old in 1931. Child(Maria-illegitimate) with godmother on 7-11-33 and latter living on public aid. Godmother wanted mother to pay up board for child. Probation officer couldn't locate either mother or putative father in June of 1934. Probation officer thinks mother is a common prostitute. On November 19, 1934, the writer made or tried to make a home visit. Godmother of Maria not at home. Neighbor's little girl blurted out, before her mother could stop her that child was with putative father, but couldn't locate either the mother or the father. Probation officer wants the putative father for deportation as an undesirable alien and for non-support charge.

Thus we see the wisdom of having committed the children in this case permanently to the Department of Public Welfare to protect them from their irresponsible mother. Mother has not changed her social or moral standards of living and if anything is even worse than she was before the children were removed. It now remains to be seen what can be



Florance, Nancy, and Salvatore were permanently committed to the DCC. On February 21, 1933 mother was reported to have given birth to second illegitimate child and mother's probation officer tried to make complaint of neglect. But mother was earning eighteen dollars per week and putative father was paying her dollar a week. Hence probation officer asked the SPCC to withdraw the complaint of neglect.

Mother's recent record is as follows:  
8-9-37 larceny  
8-30-38 default removed  
12-12-38 default warrant  
1-6-31 adultery  
3-6-31 adultery  
4-24-33 grand larceny  
6-15-33 default removed (4-20-33)

Mother's probation officer reports father of child forty-one years old in 1931. Child (Maria-Illegitimate) with grandmother on 7-11-33 and father living on public aid. Grandmother wanted mother to pay up board for child. Probation officer couldn't locate either mother or putative father in June of 1934. Probation officer thinks mother is a common prostitute. On November 19, 1934, the writer made or tried to make a home visit. Grandmother of Maria not at home. Neighbor's little girl blurted out, before her mother could stop her that child was with putative father, but couldn't locate either the mother or the father. Probation officer wanted the putative father for deportation as an undesirable alien and for non-support charge.

Thus we see the wisdom of having committed the children in this case permanently to the Department of Public Welfare to protect them from their irresponsible mother. Mother has not changed her social or moral standards of living and if anything is even worse than she was before the children were removed. It now remains to be seen what can be



done to save the second illegitimate child Maria from corruption and to stop mother on her wild career of dissipated living. Mother probably seeking response (affection) aside from fact that she isn't smart enough to make permanent adjustments (social and otherwise).

---

### Case III. C.FAMILY

Maurice- nine years and six months; Mary- three years and eleven months; Anna- three months.

On July 3, 1920, a complaint was made against care of children of boarding mother Mrs. D. Complaint was found to be unwarranted and mother was reported to be taking aid from Mother's Aid while working and placing out children. Aid was discontinued for this reason on November twenty-fourth of the same year and mother was again placed on Mother's Aid. Case was closed.

On March 16, 1922 the social service department of the City Hospital reported Mary run over but doing well. Mother was living with a certain man Mr. C. Both mother and man were Irish. First husband (father of Maurice and Mary) had died on 2-22-20. Overseers of the Public Welfare and the Mother's Aid withdrew relief. On December eighteenth of this year the social service of the City Hospital reported the birth of an illegitimate child Anna to mother by Mr. C. The child was reported to be in hospital for treatment for neglected condition. Also the moral situation in the home was reported as being bad. However on 11-26-22 Mr. C. had obtained divorce decree absolute from his first wife on grounds of desertion. The home at this time was reported to be filthy and Maurice and Mary suffering from impetigo. Mr. C. promised to marry mother and clean up the house by January 8, 1923. On January 6, 1923 mother and Mr. C. pleaded guilty to



done to save the second illegitimate child Maria from starvation and to stop mother on her wild career of dissipated living. Mother probably seeking response (affection) said from fact that she isn't smart enough to make permanent adjustment (social and otherwise).

Case III. C. FAMILY  
Maurice - nine years and six months; Mary - three years and eleven months;  
Anna - three months.

On July 8, 1930, a complaint was made against care of children of boarding mother Mrs. D. Complaint was found to be unwarranted and mother was reported to be taking aid from Mother's Aid while working and placing out children. Aid was discontinued for this reason on November twenty-fourth of the same year and mother was again placed on Mother's Aid. Case was closed.

On March 16, 1932 the social service department of the City Hospital reported Mary run over but doing well. Mother was living with a certain man Mr. C. Both mother and man were Irish. First husband (father of Maurice and Mary) had died on 2-23-30. Overseer of the Public Welfare and the Mother's Aid withdrew relief. On December eighteenth of this year the social service of the City Hospital reported the birth of an illegitimate child Anna to mother by Mr. C. The child was reported to be in hospital for treatment for neglected condition. Also the moral situation in the home was reported as being bad. However on 11-28-32 Mr. C. had obtained divorce decree absolute from his first wife on grounds of desertion. The home at this time was reported to be filthy and Maurice and Mary suffering from impetigo. Mr. C. promised to marry mother and clean up the house by January 8, 1933. On January 8, 1933 mother and Mr. C. pleaded guilty to



lewd and lascivious charge. In the Juvenile Session children were adjudged neglected and were removed by court order in the care and custody of the HDCC. The mother was sentenced to one year in the common jail with stay on probation and Mr. C. to one year in the House of Correction with stay on probation. Neither mother nor Mr. C. were ever to see each other during that year or stay was to be revoked.

On January 15, 1923 Mr. C. arrested for drunkenness and being unable to pay fine was sent to the Island. Mother living with maternal grandparents. On April 14, 1923 mother and Mr. C. were married, but on October 25, 1923 Mr. C. was again arrested for drunkenness and failure to pay fine. Mother's and Mr. C's cases were filed because they married with the court's permission. On February the second of 1924 Mr. C. and mother were reported as working in a hospital. In July of 1925 mother and stepfather were reported as living in a fairly decent neighborhood and to have saved up a nice little sum of money. Stepfather was working and mother was doing odd jobs. Mother asked to have children returned. In August it was reported that Anna had died on January first. In June of 1927 Maurice and Mary were returned to mother. Mother was working in a department store at this time and neighbor to care for children. Stepfather at Bridgewater for drunkenness. In July mother complained of a neighbor making threats against her and children but these soon stopped. In October stepfather returned home and parents were advised by the State Industrial Accident Board, in relation to accident suffered by stepfather, that they would pay a lump sum to parents as soon as they could find a suitable store. However the Board wouldn't agree on any store.

In April of 1928, the school nurse reported neglect of Mary's eye condition(conjunctivitis). In May, stepfather was arrested for



few and lascivious charges. In the Juvenile Session children were adjudged neglected and were removed by court order in the care and custody of the HCC. The mother was sentenced to one year in the common jail with stay on probation and Mr. C. to one year in the House of Correction with stay on probation. Neither mother nor Mr. C. were ever to see each other during that year or stay was to be revoked.

On January 10, 1933 Mr. C. arrested for drunkenness and being unable to pay fine was sent to the Island. Mother living with maternal grandparents. On April 14, 1933 mother and Mr. C. were married, but on October 25, 1933 Mr. C. was again arrested for drunkenness and failure to pay fine. Mother's and Mr. C's cases were killed because they married with the court's permission. On February the second of 1934 Mr. C. and mother were reported as working in a hospital. In July of 1933 mother and step-father were reported as living in a fairly decent neighborhood and to have saved up a nice little sum of money. Stepfather was working and mother was doing odd jobs. Mother asked to have children returned. In August 1934 was reported that Anna had died on January first. In June of 1937 Maurice and Mary were returned to mother. Mother was working in a department store at this time and neighbor to care for children. Stepfather at Bridgewater for drunkenness. In July mother complained of a neighbor making threats against her and children but these soon stopped. In October stepfather returned home and parents were advised by the State Industrial Accident Board, in relation to accident suffered by stepfather, that they would pay a lump sum to parents as soon as they could find a suitable store. However the Board wouldn't agree on any store.

In April of 1938, the school nurse reported neglect of Mary's eye condition (conjunctivitis). In May, stepfather was arrested for



drunkenness and mother was warned to take Mary to the City Hospital Eye Clinic. Mother at this time was reported as having little store where she made out quite well. Wanted Maurice to go to work. In August Mary was found to be suffering with phlyctenular keratitis of the eye which needed immediate treatment. Also had pediculosis; Wassermann was negative; Von Pirquet positive. Hence Mary was admitted to the Temporary Home for care. In November new glasses were very carefully fitted to prevent spread of tuberculosis infection from the eye.

The family situation again became acute now. Stepfather had returned from the House of Correction and on the twenty-fourth of November was again sentenced to a year in the House of Correction. Stepfather appealed and was sent to jail for failure to pay bail. Also the parent's store was now taken away and eviction from their home was pending. Latter was delayed and OPW suggested renting new apartment. Mother went to live with a case of the Family Welfare Society, to which the latter rightfully objected. Mother moved on December 17, 1928 into furnished flat. Again on February 26, 1929 family was reported to be faring badly. Even with the aid from the OPW and food order family could barely support itself. Stepfather sent to Long Island for the winter. On March 19, 1929 mother found a tenement at fifteen dollars a month and furnished it and bought clothes for the family with the help of the Salvation Army and the Catholic Charitable Bureau. In April, stepfather returned home a decrepit old man. Mother had to get a job as the OPW were going to stop aid. In July, it was reported that stepfather was again drinking steadily. Mother seeking non-support warrant. However the picture again clears in November when it was reported that family was living in a new home and had furniture valued at \$300 which was bought on the installment plan. Parents didn't see the



drunkenness and mother was warned to take Mary to the City Hospital Eye Clinic. Mother at this time was reported as having little store where she made out quite well. Wanted Maurice to go to work. In August Mary was found to be suffering with myxomatous keratitis of the eye which needed immediate treatment. Also had pediculosis; Wassermann was negative; Von Hippel positive. Hence Mary was admitted to the Temporary Home for care. In November new glasses were very carefully fitted to prevent spread of tuberculous infection from the eye.

The family situation again became acute now. Stepfather

had returned from the House of Correction and on the twenty-fourth of November was again sentenced to a year in the House of Correction. Stepfather appealed and was sent to jail for failure to pay bail. Also the parent's store was now taken away and eviction from their home was pending. Father was delayed and OPW suggested renting new apartment. Mother went to live with a case of the Family Welfare Society, to which the latter rightfully objected. Mother moved on December 17, 1938 into furnished flat. Again on February 26, 1939 family was reported to be living badly. Even with the aid from the OPW and food order family could barely support itself. Stepfather sent to Long Island for the winter. On March 19, 1939 mother found a tenement at fifteen dollars a month and furnished it and bought clothes for the family with the help of the Salvation Army and the Catholic Charitable Bureau. In April, stepfather returned home a decrepit old man. Mother had to get a job as the OPW were going to stop aid. In July, it was reported that stepfather was again drinking steadily. Mother seeking non-support warrant. However the picture again cleared in November when it was reported that family was living in a new home and had furniture valued at \$300 which was bought on the installment plan. Parents didn't see the



inconsistency of the latter purchase in relation to the fact that they were recipients at the time of purchase of public aid. Home life rather friendly and Maurice working. At this time stepfather had a fight with Maurice and left for Long Island but returned on December twelfth. Maurice was now idle. On January 29, 1930 it was reported that mother gave birth to a child, Joseph, and stepfather asked for clothing for the child. In February, stepfather complained of lack of funds even though the OPW was sending \$16 a week in cash, and a food order and fuel. The parents all through their dealings with the Society acted ungratefully and expected more than they should have reasonably expected to get. Maurice was now reported working away from home. When at home Maurice was now reported as being lazy and shiftless.

In March of 1933, the OPW records reported children neglected. In May, the family was again badly off and home was shabby, sleeping arrangements were bad, food and clothing supply was insufficient. At this time Mary promised to help mother clean up home. Maurice was away at the CCC camp (Camp Devens). In June of 1934 an OPW worker asked the Society to become active on this case. Home was in very bad condition. Only two beds in home. Joseph had abscessed teeth and glands which needed immediate care. On the twenty-first of June nothing had been done as yet. At this time child also needed a tonsillectomy and all his teeth extracted. Maurice at the time was reported as working in a hand laundry, but was receiving no pay. Stepfather was not working now for seven years and home was very unsuitable. On September 15, 1934 the OPW reported home conditions dirty and crowded. Mother slack in giving Joseph necessary care. Family moved to larger quarters on September 19, 1934.



inconsistency of the latter purchase in relation to the fact that they were recipients at the time of purchase of public aid. Home life rather frigidly and Maurice working. At this time stepfather had a fight with Maurice and left for Long Island but returned on December twelfth. Maurice was now idle. On January 29, 1930 it was reported that mother gave birth to a child, Joseph, and stepfather asked for clothing for the child. In February, stepfather complained of lack of funds even though the OPW was sending \$10 a week in cash, and a food order and fuel. The parents all through their dealings with the Society acted ungratefully and expected more than they should have reasonably expected to get. Maurice was now reported working away from home. When at home Maurice was now reported as being lazy and shiftless.

In March of 1930, the OPW records reported children neglected. In May, the family was again badly off and home was shabby, sleeping arrangements were bad, food and clothing supply was insufficient. At this time Mary promised to help mother clean up home. Maurice was away at the CCC camp (Camp Devens). In June of 1930 an OPW worker asked the Society to become active on this case. Home was in very bad condition. Only two beds in home. Joseph had abscessed teeth and glands which needed immediate care. On the twenty-first of June nothing had been done as yet. At this time child also needed a tonsillectomy and all his teeth extracted. Maurice at the time was reported as working in a hand laundry, but was receiving no pay. Stepfather was not working now for seven years and home was very unsuitable. On September 18, 1930 the OPW reported home conditions dirty and crowded. Mother slack in giving Joseph necessary care. Family moved to larger quarters on September 19, 1930.



Stepfather's most recent record at the Mass. Comm. on

Probation is as follows:

6- 7-29	Drunk et.al.till
4-27-34	"
9-26-34	" etc.

OPW is now working on the case and the SPCC is standing by in case of emergency. According to SPCC agent, new home is better, but mother is slovenly and ignorant and it is very hard to drive her to do what is right. Joseph appears very delicate and is probably a congenital defective. Mouth trouble of Joseph is quite serious. Maurice is now working off and on.

On November 14, 1934 OPW worker reported to writer that Maurice is now working in a bakery and contributes between five and seven dollars a week towards family expenses. Home still dirty and both parents home. Stepfather unable to get along with aid since the rent is \$18 a month. Maurice is now twenty-one years old. Home conditions are unsatisfactory.

Here we have a good example of a chronic case of dependency, social inadequacy, and intemperance. The Society has been active off and on on this case since July of 1920. Little can be done for the family since the parents are such unstable personalities and do not know what is responsibility. In addition to this unfortunate handicap we have ingratitude and nothing that is done for this family is sufficient from their point of view. The parents have no idea of the amount of effort that has been expended on them to keep them together and feel that all aid is part of their world's goods. In a word the family is a good example of chronic dependency. The condition of the children can hardly be said to be improved and it is surprising that a boy like Maurice has not yet been in any known



Stepfather's most recent record at the Mass. Comm. on

Probation is as follows:

6-7-33 Drink et al. III  
4-27-34 "  
3-26-34 " etc.

OPW is now working on the case and the SPCC is standing by

in case of emergency. According to SPCC agent, new home is better, but mother is slovenly and ignorant and it is very hard to drive her to do what is right. Joseph appears very delicate and is probably a congenital defective. Month trouble of Joseph is quite serious. Maurice is now working off and on.

On November 14, 1934 OPW worker reported to writer that

Maurice is now working in a bakery and contributes between five and seven dollars a week towards family expenses. Home still dirty and both parents home. Stepfather unable to get along with aid since the rent is \$18 a month. Maurice is now twenty-one years old. Home conditions are

unstable.

Here we have a good example of a chronic case of dependency

social inadequacy, and incompetence. The Society has been active off and on

on this case since July of 1930. Little can be done for the family since

the parents are such unstable personalities and do not know what is re-

sponsibility. In addition to this unfortunate handicap we have ingratitude

and nothing that is done for this family is sufficient from their point of

view. The parents have no idea of the amount of effort that has been ex-

pendent on them to keep them together and feel that all is part of their

world's goods. In a word the family is a good example of chronic depend-

ency. The condition of the children can hardly be said to be improved and

it is surprising that a boy like Maurice has not been in any known



delinquencies and is ambitious enough to want to work. One wonders what keeps such a family together. Could it be affection? or is it inertia?

---

#### Case IV. H.FAMILY

William- thirteen years and three months; John- ten years and three months; James- nine years and seven months; Francis- seven years and eleven months; Helen- six years; Joseph- one year and two months. (father of these children died in 1918)

Mother of sex children reported to be a poor housekeeper.

Husband dead about two years. Children neglected even when husband was alive entirely through mother's fault, since father was a very steady worker and a good man. Mother used to leave children with father and go out to have a good time. As soon as father died in 1918, mother began affair with an ex-service man twelve years her junior and had an illegitimate child by him in July of 1920, and mother and stepfather married when removal of other children was threatened.

William was born out of wedlock and mother's first marriage was also a forced one. When the SPCC investigated in 1918 mother was warned to clean up the house and children, and to stay at home at night and care for them. Police officers cooperated in warning mother. Father was exceedingly steady person and worked steadily for the Sanitary Division at \$18 per week. Father died in September or October of 1918 of influenza. At the time of father's death the Boston Provident Association aided mother to extent of \$13 a week and warned mother about home conditions. In June of 1920 mother was persuaded by OPW worker to move to a suburb in order to break up bad companionships especially with young man, Mr. H. However the mother still continued to see him and on July 16, 1920 an illegitimate child was born. A paternal aunt of the children above complained of this



delinquencies and is ambitious enough to want to work. One wonders what keeps such a family together. Could it be affection? or is it inertia?

#### Case IV. H. FAMILY

William - thirteen years and three months; John - ten years and three months; James - nine years and seven months; Frank - seven years and eleven months; Walter - six years; Joseph - one year and two months. (Father of these children died in 1913)

Mother of six children reported to be a poor housekeeper.

Husband dead about two years. Children neglected even when husband was

alive entirely through mother's fault, since father was a very steady worker and a good man. Mother used to leave children with father and go out to have a good time. As soon as father died in 1918, mother began affair with an ex-service man twelve years her junior and had an illegitimate child by him in July of 1920, and mother and stepfather married when removal of other children was threatened.

William was born out of wedlock and mother's first marriage was also a forced one. When the SPCC investigated in 1918 mother was warned to clean up the house and children, and to stay at home at night and care for them. Police officers cooperated in warning mother. Father was exceedingly steady person and worked steadily for the Sanitary Division at \$18 per week. Father died in September or October of 1918 of influenza. At the time of father's death the Boston Provident Association aided mother to extent of \$13 a week and warned mother about home conditions. In June of 1920 mother was persuaded by OHW workers to move to a suburb in order to break up bad companionships especially with young man, Mr. E. However the mother still continued to see him and on July 16, 1920 an illegitimate child was born. A paternal aunt of the children above complained of this



situation. In October an agent of the Society found the young man in mother's bed. Mother claimed they had been married on June 19, 1920, which was later proved to be a false statement. Mr. H. spoke to agent of the Society, even though only partly clad, and said that he was an ex-service man making \$21 a week at selling barber supplies in his father's place of business. Said he could support seven children and wanted no inquiries made. Home only had three rooms. No food in house which was filthy. Children ragged and dirty. Mother pleaded to be allowed to retain children. Admitted lack of clothing. On 10-16-20 word came from the American Red Cross that Mr. H. was a deserter who was wanted. On 10-30-20 captain of police of a suburb found children to be neglected. On 11-1-20 children tried as neglected children and sent to the HDCC temporarily, and on 11-6-20 were placed with this agency(HDCC) permanently. Also on the same day (11-1-20) a five day waiver was issued by the judge so that mother and stepfather could marry at once and they obtained their marriage license at once on 11-2-20, and were married by their priest 11-4-20. On 11-6-20 mother and stepfather were found guilty on lewd and lascivious charge, but case was filed.

On 10-18-21 it was reported that paternal aunt had Helen. HDCC placed William with paternal aunt and other children in other foster homes. On September 24, 1921 another son, Edward Donald, was born to mother and stepfather. On October twenty-fourth mother asked for William, Helen, and Joseph to be returned. Wanted William home to help support the family. Home was now clean though sparsely furnished. New baby had inflamed eye. Stepfather terribly nervous. Said he couldn't stand to have all the children returned because of this. Used vile language in speaking to agent of Society. On October 25, 1922 it was reported that the new baby



38

situation. In October an agent of the Society found the young man in mother's bed. Mother claimed they had been married on June 18, 1930, which was later proved to be a false statement. Mr. H. spoke to agent of the Society, even though only partly clad, and said that he was an ex-service man making \$21 a week at selling rubber supplies in his father's place of business. Said he could support seven children and wanted no inquiries made. Home only had three rooms. He took in house which was filthy. Children ragged and dirty. Mother pleaded to be allowed to retain children. Admitted lack of clothing. On 10-18-30 word came from the American Red Cross that Mr. H. was a deserter who was wanted. On 10-20-30 captain of police of a suburb found children to be neglected. On 11-1-30 children tried as neglected children and sent to the HDCC temporarily, and on 11-8-30 were placed with this agency (HDCC) permanently. Also on the same day (11-1-30) a five day waiver was issued by the Judge so that mother and stepfather could marry at once and they obtained their marriage license at once on 11-3-30, and were married by their priest 11-4-30. On 11-8-30 mother and stepfather were found guilty on lewd and lascivious charge, but case was filed.

On 10-18-31 it was reported that paternal aunt had Helen. HDCC placed William with paternal aunt and other children in other foster homes. On September 24, 1931 another son, Edward Donald, was born to mother and stepfather. On October twenty-fourth mother asked for William, Helen, and Joseph to be returned. Wanted William home to help support the family. Home was now clean though sparsely furnished. New baby had in-flamed eye. Stepfather terribly nervous. Said he couldn't stand to have all the children returned because of this. Used vile language in speaking to agent of Society. On October 28, 1931 it was reported that the new baby



died in July after a long illness. Mother wanted William home as he was almost 16. Also wanted Helen and James. Stepfather works irregularly. Receives only \$30 month from the Soldier's Benefit. Stepfather again reported very nervous, erratic, and quarrelsome. Home not improved. Stepfather was reported arrested for drunkenness. Also it was reported that stepgrandfather was in the home now and causing much internal strife. In December another boy was born and died four days after birth.

In January of 1923 stepfather was reported more agreeable since paternal stepgrandfather was out of the house. Parents wanted at least William and James returned. Francis, Helen and Joseph were now in good foster homes. John, James and William were in the HDCC. In February, William was reported to be working in a candy factory after being returned home to mother on trial on January 6, 1923. In March William's case was filed. In April William was reported to be working while still reporting to the HDCC. In May it was reported that James had new glasses prescribed and fitted through help given by the SPCC. James was in a home in Maine. John getting along well in Working Boys Home. William out of employment. In October it was reported that William worked on an oil boat during the summer. Stepfather also working regularly. In November William worked as a painter's helper and James was allowed to come home for Thanksgiving. In January mother was ready for another confinement. Stepfather in very boastful mood, wished to leave this part of the country and to go to California. Didn't feel he was able to care for six stepchildren. In January of 1924 Edward was born and was well cared for. In March of 1925 it was reported that James was home on all holidays as per agreement with mother's probation officer. Mother wanted him home for the summer vacation to help her in the home. Mother satisfied with boy's progress at the Home of the



37

died in July after a long illness. Mother wanted William home as he was almost 18. Also wanted Helen and James. Stepfather worked irregularly. Received only \$30 month from the Soldier's Benefit. Stepfather again reported very nervous, erratic, and quarrelsome. Home not improved. Stepfather was reported arrested for drunkenness. Also it was reported that stepgrandfather was in the home now and causing much internal strife. In December another boy was born and died four days after birth.

In January of 1938 stepfather was reported more agreeable since paternal stepgrandfather was out of the house. Parents wanted at least William and James returned. Francis, Helen and Joseph were now in Good Foster home. John, James and William were in the HDCC. In February William was reported to be working in a candy factory after being returned home to mother on trial on January 6, 1938. In March William's case was lifted. In April William was reported to be working while still reporting to the HDCC. In May it was reported that James had new glasses prescribed and fitted through help given by the HDCC. James was in a home in Maine. John getting along well in Working Boys Home. William out of employment.

In October it was reported that William worked on an oil boat during the summer. Stepfather also working regularly. In November William worked as a painter's helper and James was allowed to come home for Thanksgiving. In January mother was ready for another confinement. Stepfather in very boastful mood, wished to leave this part of the country and to go to California. Didn't feel he was able to care for six stepchildren. In January of 1939 Edward was born and was well cared for. In March of 1939 it was reported that James was home on all holidays as per agreement with mother's probation officer. Mother wanted him home for the summer vacation to help her in the home. Mother satisfied with boy's progress at the Home of the



Angel Guardian. William was working on the Savannah Line. Stepfather working regularly at small wage. In March of 1926 mother was ill with leg trouble and still-born child had been born on February 18, 1926. Stepfather working regularly at \$35 a week. William making between \$18 and \$20 at docks as longshoreman. Mother wants Francis transferred to the Home of the Angel Guardian. In March of 1927 the home was again reported to be unclean and mother tried to make excuses. William a longshoreman and pays ten dollars a week at home. John in the navy at this time and James working at \$9 week and paying \$7 board. Francis, Helen, and Joseph in foster homes. Stepfather working and cleaning house which mother says is a common occurrence. Stepfather making forty dollars per week.

In February of 1931, mother was reported to be stone blind and had to be lead around. Older boys all left home. Stepfather with her. James in navy too. Mother worried over Francis. Mother has to be lead around. One eye removed and with other can only discern the light. Neither Helen nor Joseph want to return to home. In May of 1933 mother, stepfather, Kenneth and Edward reported to be stranded in New York City. William the only boy returned to the home by court order has not turned out as well as the others. He is now married and is a painter by trade. He has quite a long record at the Massachusetts Commission on Probation, whereas the others have no records at least in this state:

10- 8-28	drunk
5-13-29	Assault to rob
6-10-29	Assault and battery to rob
4-21-30	Drunk
12- 8-30	"
4-13-31	"
6-15-31	"
3- 6-32	"
11-28-32	"
6-19-33	"
7-23-34	"
7-26-34	Assault and Battery officer



Angel Guardian. William was working on the Savannah Mass. Stepladder working regularly at small wages. In March of 1936 mother was ill with Joe trouble and still-born child had been born on February 18, 1936. Stepladder working regularly at \$35 a week. William making between \$18 and \$20 at docks as longshoreman. Mother wants Francis transferred to the Home of the Angel Guardian. In March of 1937 the home was again reported to be clean and mother tried to make excuses. William a longshoreman and pays ten dollars a week at home. John in the navy at this time and James working at \$9 week and paying \$7 board. Francis, Helen, and Joseph in foster homes. Stepladder working and cleaning house which mother says is a common occurrence. Stepladder making forty dollars per week. In February of 1931, mother was reported to be alone blind and had to be lead around. Older boys all left home. Stepladder with her. James in navy too. Mother worried over Francis. Mother has to be lead around. One eye removed and with other can only discern the light. Neither Helen nor Joseph want to return to home. In May of 1933 mother, Stepladder, Kenneth and Edward reported to be stranded in New York City. William the only boy returned to the home by court order has not turned out as well as the others. He is now married and is a painter by trade. He has quite a long record at the Massachusetts Commission on Probation, whereas the others have no records at least in this state:

- 10-8-38 drunk
- 8-12-38 Assault to rob
- 8-10-38 Assault and battery to rob
- 4-21-30 Drunk
- 12-8-30 "
- 4-15-31 "
- 8-15-31 "
- 3-6-32 "
- 11-22-32 "
- 8-12-33 "
- 7-25-34 "
- 7-25-34 Assault and battery officer



Here we have a good example of children who should never have been returned to their home as they weren't in this case and throve for that reason, except the only one who was returned.

---

Case V. N.FAMILY (Polish)

Children of first wife:

Walter- eleven years; Agnes- ten years(?)

Children of second wife:

John- four years and one month; Louis- two years and seven months.

Parents at the time of referral were reported as being in-temperate. Father was a habitual drinker and mother chronic alcoholic. Children apparently without proper and salutary control. On October 13, 1925, a maternal cousin of first wife reported parents as drunk and beating children. Children described as being very much neglected and to be liars and thieves. Children not being properly trained. Maternal cousin would like to have Agnes if father would pay her board and allow her to come. Agnes had been at maternal aunt's for six months and reported that step-mother beat her when latter was intoxicated. Own mother died of influenza in the epidemic of 1918. However the home was reported as being well cared for. Louis the youngest child was reported to be rachitic and needing special attention. Taken to Children's Hospital.

Father was found guilty of violating the prohibition laws on October twentieth and was fined one hundred and fifty dollars. Louis was reported to be defective. Mother found in very much intoxicated state. On November 4, 1925, mother and father were reported as being sober. Agent of the Society warned them to give Louis proper medical care. Again on November tenth mother was found in company of two male boarders both of whom were intoxicated. Louis was filthy, and John was running about in his



Here we have a good example of children who should never

have been returned to their home as they weren't in this case and throw

for that reason, except the only one who was returned.

Case V. H. JAMES (Police)

Children of first wife:

John - eleven years; Agnes - ten years (1)

Children of second wife:

John - four years and one month; Louis - two years and seven months.

Parents at the time of referral were reported as being in-

temperate. Father was a habitual drinker and mother chronic alcoholic.

Children apparently without proper and salutary control. On October 1,

1933, a maternal cousin of first wife reported parents as drunk and beating

children. Children described as being very much neglected and to be liars

and thieves. Children not being properly trained. Maternal cousin would

like to have Agnes if father would pay her board and allow her to come.

Agnes had been at maternal aunt's for six months and reported that step-

mother beat her when father was intoxicated. Own mother died of tuberculosis

in the epidemic of 1918. However the home was reported as being well cared

for. Louis the youngest child was reported to be rachitic and needing

special attention. Taken to Children's Hospital.

Father was found guilty of violating the prohibition laws

on October twentieth and was fined one hundred and fifty dollars. Louis was

reported to be defective. Mother found in very much intoxicated state. On

November 4, 1933, mother and father were reported as being sober. Agent of

the Society warned them to give Louis proper medical care. Again on

November tenth mother was found in company of two male boarders both of

whom were intoxicated. Louis was ill, and John was running about in his



underwear. On November twenty-fourth, Agnes was reported to have bad case of scabies. Father agreed to treatment. Mother in bed with Louis. Home filthy and cluttered. In the meanwhile, a complaint of neglect was lodged against all four children on November twentieth, and on December 9, 1925 Walter, Agnes, and John were turned over to the Department of Public Welfare for assortment, and Louis was sent to the State Infirmary. Other children finally sent to the HDCC; on January 20, 1926 children were bailed out by father. On February 13 medical problem turned over to the social service, OPD, Children's Hospital. In April a man was found in bed who was supposed to be father. Home now better cared for. John and Louis taken care of. In May mother in home ill and shaking. Father reports mother better and neighbors said the same. Children's Hospital could do nothing for Louis according to father. Again in August, neighbor reports mother out late and drinking heavily. In October (20) children well at home and at school. John perhaps truanting. On November 15, 1926, the DCG recommended placing with aunt and the next day mother drinking heavily. Maternal cousin promised to take Walter and Agnes at \$8 week plus clothing. On November thirtieth mother again in bed with Louis. At Christmas time mother sentenced to Mass. Reformatory for Women at Framingham on account of alcoholism. In October of 1928 worker from the Mattapan State Hospital reported the home conditions as being very bad. Mother intoxicated and Louis tested psychologically at I.Q. 78. Louis terribly neglected. Needed immediate medical care for heart lesion, tonsils and adenoids. Recommended that child be removed since mother absolutely uncooperative.

In November agent of the Society found mother drunk and dirty. Father also intoxicated. Father refused to give Louis medical care. On December twelfth neighbors reported that Louis can no longer walk but



underwear. On November twenty-fourth, Agnes was reported to have had case  
of scabies. Father agreed to treatment. Mother in bed with Louis. Home  
filthy and cluttered. In the meanwhile, a complaint of neglect was lodged  
against all four children on November twentieth, and on December 9, 1935  
Walter, Agnes, and John were turned over to the Department of Public Welfare  
for assessment, and Louis was sent to the State Infirmary. Other children  
finally sent to the HBC; on January 30, 1936 children were pulled out by  
father. On February 13 medical problem turned over to the social service,  
CPD, Children's Hospital. In April a man was found in bed who was supposed  
to be father. Home now better cared for. John and Louis taken care of.  
In May mother in home ill and shaking. Father reports mother better and  
neighbors said the same. Children's Hospital could do nothing for Louis  
according to father. Again in August, neighbor reports mother out late and  
drinking heavily. In October (30) children well at home and at school.  
John perhaps truanting. On November 15, 1936, the DCG recommended placing  
with aunt and the next day mother drinking heavily. Maternal cousin prop-  
osed to take Walter and Agnes at \$8 week plus clothing. On November thir-  
teenth mother again in bed with Louis. At Christmas time mother sentenced  
to Mass. Reformatory for Women at Framingham on account of alcoholism. In  
October of 1938 worker from the Mattapan State Hospital reported the home  
conditions as being very bad. Mother intoxicated and Louis tested psycho-  
logically at 1.9. 78. Louis terribly neglected. Needed immediate medical  
care for heart lesion, tonsils and adenoids. Recommended that child be re-  
moved since mother absolutely uncooperative.  
  
In November agent of the Society found mother drunk and  
dirty. Father also intoxicated. Father refused to give Louis medical care.  
On December twelfth neighbors reported that Louis can no longer walk but



creeps and crawls about. On December twenty-sixth Louis and John were found neglected and "by reason of neglect drunkenness, or other vice of parents, boys are growing up without salutary control, proper physical care, and in circumstances exposing said children to lead idle, dissolute lives and are dependent on public charity."

On January 1, 1929, parents were reported as drinking as heavily as ever. On February of 1929 Louis was committed to the DCG. On April ninth it was reported that Walter had worked for the Western Union but lost his job and now was going to continuation school full time. Also John in need of tonsil and adenoid operation, when weather was warmer.

In May, Louis was reported to have spastic paralysis and to be an idiot. In May of 1930, father was reported to be out of work for two weeks. John had his tonsil and adenoid operation the first day of school. Louis unable to go to school. In May of 1933 the local police captain reported family situation greatly improved. Father's last record at Mass. Comm. on Probation is on 2-8-32; mother's last record 9-24-34 - drunk - released. From the DCG records we find that Louis is still at the State Infirmary. Parents see him every three or four months. In May of 1934 Louis in same place and definitely regarded as an institutional case of idiocy. At present Walter, Agnes, and John are at home with parents. Situation seems to have improved greatly as the result of the constant emphasis of the Society on proper training and treatment of children and proper behavior on the part of the parents. Mother still occasionally drinks however.



creeps and crawls about. On December twenty-sixth Louis and John were found neglected and "by reason of neglect drunkenness, or other vice of parents, boys are growing up without salutary control, proper physical care, and in circumstances exposing said children to lead idle, dissolute lives and are dependent on public charity."

On January 1, 1939, parents were reported as drinking as heavily as ever. On February of 1939 Louis was committed to the D.C. On April ninth it was reported that Walter had worked for the Western Union but lost his job and now was going to continuation school full time. Also John in need of tonsil and adenoid operation, when weather was warmer.

In May, Louis was reported to have specific personality and to be an idiot. In May of 1939, father was reported to be out of work for

two weeks. John had his tonsil and adenoid operation the first day of school. Louis unable to go to school. In May of 1939 the local police captain reported family situation greatly improved. Father's last record at Mass. Comm. on Probation is on 2-8-38; mother's last record 2-24-34 - drunk - released. From the D.C. records we find that Louis is still at the

State Infirmary. Parents see him every three or four months. In May of 1934 Louis in same place and definitely regarded as an institutional case of idiocy. At present Walter, Agnes, and John are at home with parents.

Situation seems to have improved greatly as the result of the constant emphasis of the Society on proper training and treatment of children and proper behavior on the part of the parents. Mother still occasionally drinks however.



Case VI. CR.FAMILY

Edward- three years and four months; Georgia- two years; Jenny- ten months.

The father and mother in this family were reported as immoral. Father neurasthenic, inferior personality of borderline intelligence. Father however a good earner as chef. Mother subject to temper tantrums; continual unfaithfulness in the marriage relationship. In June of 1923, father was in the office of the Society to make a complaint against mother for acting queerly. In July, the Family Welfare Society reported that Georgia was in the City Hospital because of neglected condition. In September of 1924 a boarding house landlord reported children locked in room till late in the night. On the fifth of September mother was put out because she quarrelled with neighbors and was filthy. In October children were reported to be well cared for. Mother acted well and father out of work. Georgia was in the Floating Hospital because of chronic diarrhea. On the twenty-ninth of October the Floating Hospital social service reported that mother took child against advice and refused to give her necessary treatment.

On January 6, 1925 a complaint was received as to neglect of children. Edward was reported to have set fire some time ago and burned the baby in the family. However the neighbors were afraid of mother's vicious temper and refused to testify. The janitor in the house where mother lived corroborated fact that mother had vicious temper and that she was neglecting children. Also said that mother was immoral and had men visitors in home. The children were found locked up in a smelly bedroom and only partly dressed. Mother came rushing in and upbraided agent and police officer. Mother excused self concerning complaints and tried to find out who were the complainants. Mother brought in neighbor who very inadequately



Case VI. CR. FAMILY  
Edward - three years and four months; Georgia - two years; Jenny - ten months.

The father and mother in this family were reported as immoral. Father neurotic, inferior personality of borderline intelligence. Father however a good earner as chef. Mother subject to temper tantrums; continual unfaithfulness in the marriage relationship. In June of 1933, father was in the office of the Society to make a complaint against mother for acting queerly. In July, the Family Welfare Society reported that Georgia was in the City Hospital because of neglected condition. In September of 1934 a boarding house landlord reported children locked in room till late in the night. On the fifth of September mother was put out because she quarrelled with neighbors and was filthy. In October children were reported to be well cared for. Mother acted well and father out of work. Georgia was in the Floating Hospital because of chronic diarrhea. On the twenty-ninth of October the Floating Hospital social service reported that mother took child against advice and refused to give her necessary treatment.

On January 6, 1935 a complaint was received as to neglect of children. Edward was reported to have set fire some time ago and burned the baby in the family. However the neighbors were afraid of mother's violent temper and refused to testify. The janitor in the house where mother lived corroborated fact that mother had violent temper and that she was neglecting children. Also said that mother was immoral and had men visitors in home. The children were found locked up in a small bedroom and only partly dressed. Mother came rushing in and upbraided agent and police officer. Mother excused self concerning complaints and tried to find out who were the complainants. Mother brought in neighbor who very inadequately



corroborated mother's statement of innocence. Mother's friend found in company of young man. She said that mother frequently leaves children alone and that she often is intoxicated. On January 19, 1925, father agreed to send Georgia to hospital for necessary care. Mother again was abusive in speech. She stayed out one night throughout and spent money which father gave her for food. On the twenty-second Georgia was sent to the New England Hospital, and Jenny to the South Department of the City Hospital because of severe case of whooping cough. An Italian man was also arrested for going around with mother. On January twenty-third mother was sent to the jail and Georgia was placed in a foster home by the Children's Aid Association. Mother was bailed out of jail on January twenty-ninth. On this date mother's Italian friend was found guilty of lewd and lascivious charge and was put on probation. Case of neglect against children was continued to April. Georgia placed out and Jenny in hospital. On February fifth Georgia and Edward were reported to be with maternal grandmother. On February sixth Jenny died and parents seemed much grieved. On February twenty-fifth father reports family in new home. Found mother and her Italian friend in bedroom at 12:30 a.m. Father wants to prosecute both in court. Georgia was now almost ready for discharge from the hospital. Edward boarded out in private family and father wants to take children to paternal grandmother in city about 40 miles from home. Edward now looked better and behaved more properly. In March, children were reported as being with paternal grandmother and Georgia was feeling better. In April, father reported mother living with Italian friend and mother found guilty of lewd and lascivious charge and refused probation. Was sentenced to three months in the House of Correction and bail was placed at \$800. Mother was later released and on April twenty-first mother complained that her Italian friend had assaulted



43

corroborated mother's statement of innocence. Mother's friend found in company of young man. She said that mother frequently leaves children alone and that she often is intoxicated. On January 19, 1932, father agreed to send Georgia to hospital for necessary care. Mother again was abusive in speech. She stayed out one night throughout and spent money which father gave her for food. On the twenty-second Georgia was sent to the New England Hospital, and Jenny to the South Department of the City Hospital because of severe case of whooping cough. An Italian man was also arrested for going around with mother. On January twenty-third mother was sent to the Jail and Georgia was placed in a foster home by the Children's Aid Association. Mother was bailed out of Jail on January twenty-ninth. On this date mother's Italian friend was found guilty of law and lascivious charge and was put on probation. Case of neglect against children was continued to April. Georgia placed out and Jenny in hospital. On February fifth Georgia and Edward were reported to be with maternal grandmother. On February sixth Jenny died and parents seemed much grieved. On February twenty-fifth father reports family in new home. Found mother and her Italian friend in bedroom at 12:30 a.m. Father wants to prosecute both in court. Georgia was now almost ready for discharge from the hospital. Edward boarded out in private family and father wants to take children to paternal grandmother in city about 40 miles from home. Edward now looked better and behaved more properly. In March, children were reported as being with paternal grandmother and Georgia was feeling better. In April, father reported mother living with Italian friend and mother found guilty of law and lascivious charge and refused probation. Was sentenced to three months in the House of Correction and bail was placed at \$800. Mother was later released and on April twenty-first mother complained that her Italian friend had remained



her on April seventeenth; she also made a bastardy complaint against him. The man finally agreed to care for mother.

On November 2, 1926 mother's probation officer reported that father left her and that she was boarding children with woman of bad reputation. On the twelfth, mother reported that woman could no longer keep children and that she needed medicine for herself and that she was ill. Armand was reported to be weak and in need of hospital care. Father probably now a drug addict. Father had relations with woman who boarded children. Mother admitted that she and father had been diseased but that they had been treated at hospital. Mother said that father was now diseased and that she was afraid that she might contract same. Father freed from non-support charge by testimony of woman who boarded children and now latter wants them removed from her home. On November sixteenth mother asked for mental examination of father. Woman who was boarding children reported that mother goes out with several men and that she has a gang. Also that mother goes to father's places of work and by her annoying remarks makes him lose his jobs. Children were found to be very filthy and vermin ridden. On November seventeenth mother's probation officer despaired of doing anything for mother. Mother always caused father to lose his jobs and hence he is afraid of her. Mother came to court in the company of two Italian men. Mother refuses continually to go to work. At this time woman with whom children were was arrested on charge of larceny and they had to be removed. Father at this time was missing and paternal grandparents were unable to take the children. On November twenty-seventh the children were sent to the Chardon Street Home. In March of 1927, mother called for the hospital cards of all three children who were in bad condition. On May twenty-sixth mother was reported as not diseased by the Board of Health and the MGH. On May



her on April seventeenth; she also made a hearsay complaint against him.  
The man finally agreed to care for mother.  
On November 2, 1935 mother's probation officer reported  
that father left her and that she was boarding children with woman of bad  
reputation. On the twelfth, mother reported that woman could no longer  
keep children and that she needed medicine for herself and that she was ill.  
Father was reported to be weak and in need of hospital care. Father prob-  
ably now a drug addict. Father had relations with woman who boarded chil-  
dren. Mother admitted that she and father had been diseased but that they  
had been treated at hospital. Mother said that father was now diseased and  
that she was afraid that she might contract same. Father freed from non-  
support charge by testimony of woman who boarded children and now father  
wants them removed from her home. On November sixteenth mother asked for  
mental examination of father. Woman who was boarding children reported  
that mother goes out with several men and that she has a gang. Also that  
mother goes to father's places of work and by her annoying remarks makes him  
lose his job. Children were found to be very filthy and vermin ridden. On  
November seventeenth mother's probation officer suspected of doing anything  
for mother. Mother always caused father to lose his job and hence he is  
afraid of her. Mother came to court in the company of two Italian men.  
Mother refuses continually to go to work. At this time woman with whom  
children were was arrested on charge of larceny and they had to be removed.  
Father at this time was rising and paternal grandparents were unable to  
take the children. On November twenty-seventh the children were sent to the  
Gordon Street Home. In March of 1937, mother called for the hospital cards  
of all three children who were in bad condition. On May twenty-sixth mother  
was reported as not diseased by the Board of Health and the MCH. On May



twenty-seventh family were living in nicely furnished apartment of four rooms at \$27 a month. Father again working as a chef at \$35 week. Father beat mother in July and the Judge ordered an investigation of matter. Mother reported that father was hot-tempered and that he had terrible tantrums, one of which was witnessed by a probation officer of the court. Father was advised to leave home if he could not control temper. In August mother reported that all was quiet and that father was terribly jealous. Mother claimed that she was now a faithful wife and that father often attacked her quite brutally. Mother needed tonsillectomy but could not afford to board children. Mother gave consent for mental examination of father. Father very nervous and jealous of wife. Said he wanted none of his in-laws in the home, especially male in-laws whom he distrusted. Threatened to kill mother and one male cousin of mother whom he suspected of intimacies with mother. Father working as chef. Father was tested at the Veterans Bureau and it was found that he had an I.Q. of 77, M.A. 12.4. Diagnosed as mild neurasthenic, biologically inferior personality. On August twenty-fifth the Judge reported opinion that family not getting along well, but not bad enough situation to remove children. Mother reported that father was very quarrelsome and that he was throwing things at her and jealous when she went to see mother at night. Also that he was disturbing the whole neighborhood by his yelling and quarrelling. In September the Catholic Charitable Bureau head expressed opinion that there was little hope for this family. Also father's salary was now attached for debt. In October father was acting better though crying a lot. Mother was operated on for tonsils and children were placed out through the DCG, father paying children's board. Mother complained in December that she was not allowed to see baby. Stated that father had blood poisoning of both hands and left hospital against advice.



twenty-sevenish family were living in nicely furnished apartment of four rooms at \$27 a month. Father again working as a chef at \$35 week. Mother best mother in July and the Judge ordered an investigation of mother. Mother reported that father was hot-tempered and that he had terrible tantrums, one of which was witnessed by a probation officer of the court. Father was advised to leave home if he could not control temper. In August mother reported that all was quiet and that father was terribly jealous. Mother claimed that she was now a faithful wife and that father often attacked her quite brutally. Mother needed consultancy but could not afford to board children. Mother gave consent for mental examination of father. Father very nervous and jealous of wife. Said he wanted none of his in-laws in the home, especially wife in-laws whom he distrusted. Threatened to kill mother and one male cousin of mother whom he suspected of intimacies with mother. Father working as chef. Father was tested at the Veterans Bureau and it was found that he had an I.Q. of 77, M.A. 12.4. Diagnosed as mild neurasthenic, biologically inferior personality. On August twenty-fifth the Judge reported opinion that family not getting along well, but not bad enough situation to remove children. Mother reported that father was very quarrelsome and that he was throwing things at her and jealous when she went to see mother at night. Also that he was disturbing the whole neighborhood by his yelling and quarreling. In September the Catholic Charitable Bureau head expressed opinion that there was little hope for this family. Also father's salary was now attached for debt. In October father was acting better though crying a lot. Mother was operated on for tonsils and children were placed out through the DCF, father paying children's board. Mother complained in December that she was not allowed to see baby. Stated that father had blood poisoning of both hands and left hospital against advice.



On March 23, 1928 mother took out warrant against father for assault. Father disappeared for a while. Later showed up and case was continued against mother's wishes. In February of 1929 the Community Health Association reported children dirty and home conditions bad. Children left to own devices. However in March the home was again in good condition. In December Edward reported to school visitor that mother was living with male cousin and that Georgia had lunch at nursery. Armand stays at nursery all day and has meals at maternal grandmother's home. Armand was reported as bully and fighter in nursery and taken to Dr. Thom's Habit Clinic. Latter think that this conduct is a reaction to home conditions. Edward was reported to be out on streets night and day and "jackrolling" or stealing from drunkards.

In May of 1930 the Travellers Aid Society reported that Edward was picked up at the North Station at 10:15 p.m. Child beyond control and mother neglecting children. On May sixteenth Father P..... of nearby Roman Catholic church reported mother suffering from gallstones and admitted mother was unfit to care for children, and he placed children with the HDCC the next day. On July twenty-eighth court ordered mother to place children in other home.

According to the Children's Aid Association record mother divorced father in September of 1929 and married Mr. H.C. who was only twenty-six years old and mother about twenty-eight. Mother took children from the HDCC (report of July 17, 1930) and placed them with a family in nearby suburb. Kept Armand with her. On January 31, 1931 mother tried to interfere with court placement of children. On January 5, 1933 Armand was admitted to Hospital School for Crippled Children at Canton, Massachusetts. Suffering from very complicated bone disease. Mother from her behavior



On March 23, 1938 mother took out warrant against father for assault.  
Father disappeared for a while. Later showed up and case was continued  
against mother's wishes. In February of 1939 the Community Health Associa-  
tion reported children dirty and home conditions bad. Children left to own  
devices. However in March the home was again in good condition. In Decem-  
ber Edward reported to school visitor that mother was living with male  
cousin and that Georgia had lunch at nursery. Armand stays at nursery all  
day and has meals at maternal grandmother's home. Armand was reported as  
wildly and lighter in nursery and taken to Dr. Thom's Habit Clinic. Latter  
think that this conduct is a reaction to home conditions. Edward was re-  
ported to be out on streets night and day and "jacking" or stealing  
from dumpsters.  
In May of 1930 the Travelers Aid Society reported that  
Edward was picked up at the North Station at 10:15 p.m. Child beyond con-  
trol and mother neglecting children. On May sixteenth father I..... of  
nearby Roman Catholic church reported mother suffering from gallstones and  
admitted mother was unfit to care for children, and he placed children with  
the HDCC the next day. On July twenty-eighth court ordered mother to place  
children in other home.  
According to the Children's Aid Association record mother  
divorced father in September of 1929 and married Mr. E.C. who was only  
twenty-six years old and mother about twenty-eight. Mother took children  
from the HDCC (report of July 17, 1930) and placed them with a family in  
nearby suburb. Kept Armand with her. On January 31, 1931 mother failed to  
interfere with court placement of children. On January 5, 1933 Armand was  
admitted to Hospital School for Crippled Children at Canton, Massachusetts.  
Suffering from very complicated bone disease. Mother from her behavior



seems to be neurotic and it is very hard to keep her straightened out for any length of time. On June 27, 1931 the JBGC reported Edward good material and advised that much should be done for him. Edward has a short record before he was placed out in good home by the Children's Aid Association as follows:

2- 7-30 B & E with six continuances and filed in July.

4-23-30 Probation to 6-10-34 filed.

The worker at the above agency reports that Edward now placed out in small rural town and is attending a Junior High School and is doing very well. Worker blamed father for bad conditions and says that mother neglected children as result of father's neglect of family and his non-support of family. Georgia in home now but still under medical and social supervision of agency. Mother now reported(December 10, 1934) very cooperative and trying to do what was right. Keeps house very neatly. Georgia is a very nice girl and good in school and also good housekeeper. Mother has new baby Henry, about two or three years old. Parents have however been aided most of the time because father couldn't get a job though trying. Armand home for time, but his bone disease needed more treatment than he could get at home. Is some sort of bony growth which comes out in different parts of body, and no known cure for it now. Goes to school however, that is, at the Canton School.

Mother's last record 3-4-32 Assault and Battery. Mother's present husband has long record of misdemeanors and one or two more serious charges. Last record 7-25-30 By Law 54 paid \$5 fine. Father's last record is 7-13-31 lewd and lascivious charge. As far as the law is concerned the family is now behaving and is much improved. From the standpoint of the children, the situation is also improved in that they are no longer



seems to be neurotic and it is very hard to keep her straightened out for any length of time. On June 27, 1931 the JSCC reported Edward good material and advised that much should be done for him. Edward has a short record before he was placed out in good home by the Children's Aid Association as follows:

2-7-30 B & E with six continuances and filed in  
July.  
4-23-30 Probation to 6-10-31 filed.

The worker at the above agency reports that Edward now placed out in small rural town and is attending a Junior High School and is doing very well. Worker blamed father for bad conditions and says that mother neglected children as result of father's neglect of family and his non-support of family. George in home now but still under medical and social supervision of agency. Mother now reported (December 10, 1934) very cooperative and trying to do what was right. Keeps house very neatly. George is a very nice girl and good in school and also good housekeeper. Mother has new baby Henry, about two or three years old. Parents have however been aided most of the time because father couldn't get a job though trying. Around home for time, but his home diseases needed more treatment than he could get at home. Is some sort of body growth which comes out in different parts of body, and no known cure for it now. Goes to school however, that is, at the Canton School.

Mother's last record 3-4-33 Assault and Battery. Mother's present husband has long record of misdemeanors and one or two more serious charges. Last record 7-30-30 by law 54 paid \$5 fine. Father's last record is 7-13-31 law and lascivious charges. As far as the law is concerned the family is now behaving and is much improved. From the standpoint of the children, the situation is also improved in that they are no longer



neglected and have been tied up with proper social agencies which are now looking after their welfare and supplement mother's weak points. Mother also has improved and her behavior is now many times better than it first was. In brief, this case may be considered a success all around, especially when considering the type of parents dealt with and the fact that they are probably suffering from some innate and deep personality defect, in both cases.

#### Case VII. B.FAMILY

Nellie- about seven years; Vera- about three years.

The children in this Russian family were not given proper medical care because the family did not understand American customs, nor the necessity and value of immediate and adequate medical treatment. At the time of referral they were absolutely hostile towards any program of medical treatment for the two children who needed it.

Police Officer reported that baby suffering with severe case of eczema and not receiving proper attention. On June 11, 1917 mother refused to allow doctor to examine child until police officer was called in. On June sixteenth it was found that father had a record for assault and battery in December 1915, non-support in April of 1916. On June twenty-fourth the child was improved. Father always had a slight odor of liquor on his breath. Home was reported to be dirty and children neglected because mother works out. Also there was some question of immorality between male boarder and mother. In October father was very ill and mother was working. Baby's head was covered with scars and nothing was done for him. In November, there was too little proof to bring action in court and so case was closed and police promised to be on the lookout.



neglected and have been tied up with proper social agencies which are now looking after their welfare and improvement mother's weak points. Mother also has improved and her behavior is now many times better than it first was. In brief, this case may be considered a success all around, especially when considering the type of parents dealt with and the fact that they are probably suffering from some innate and deep personality defect, in both cases.

#### Case VII. E. FAMILY

Helene - about seven years; Yara - about three years.

The children in this Russian family were not given proper medical care because the family did not understand American customs, nor the necessity and value of immediate and adequate medical treatment. At the time of referral they were absolutely hostile towards any program of medical treatment for the two children who needed it. Police Officer reported that baby suffering with severe case of eczema and not receiving proper attention. On June 11, 1917 mother refused to allow doctor to examine child until police officer was called in. On June sixteenth it was found that father had a record for assault and battery in December 1915, non-support in April of 1916. On June twenty-fourth the child was injured. Father always had a slight odor of liquor on his breath. Home was reported to be dirty and children neglected because mother works out. Also there was some question of immorality between male boarder and mother. In October father was very ill and mother was working. Baby's head was covered with sores and nothing was done for him. In November, there was too little proof to bring action in court and so case was closed and police promised to be on the lookout.



In April of 1927 the school nurse reported that Nellie was having trouble with a bad gland and that she was in need of an operation. Condition was very serious and mother refused to have any medical attention for her. Absolutely will not cooperate on this with school authorities. On May third agent left note for mother to take Nellie to MGH. Home fairly clean but not ventilated. On May third mother refused to have Nellie treated. Boasted that when children had diphtheria recently and a sign was put on door she tore it off, sent doctor away, and treated children herself. Therefore a complaint of neglect was made in court. On May fourth mother threatened harm if case was not put off. Finally agreed to come to court. On May sixth the court ordered mother to have all nine children examined. On May twenty-sixth mother refused to send children to clinic as per court order. Baby died in home without parents realizing it. On June first mother was insolent and refused to send children to the clinic. Doctor of the Board of Health reported this as serious case, but very discouraging. On May twenty-sixth doctor had advised mother to send Vera to hospital because of pneumonia. Mother refused to do this. Nellie was in bed sick with discharging gland on June first. Vera sitting on doorstep with pulse of 104. Child appeared pale, sickly and dull-eyed. Mother created a disturbance in the hospital. On June third mother was in Municipal Court for failure to provide properly for Nellie, Vera, and John. Therefore the court instructed agent to have Vera admitted to the City Hospital. Nellie defaulted bonds and was committed on a temporary mittimus to the DCG.

Father at this time was reported as handicapped and with one arm. Mother and children did not want him in home. Nellie when questioned said that Vera had diphtheria. On June sixth mother was allowed to go home on own recognizance and told to return for examination by an



In April of 1937 the school nurse reported that Nellie was having trouble with a bad gland and that she was in need of an operation. Condition was very serious and mother refused to have any medical attention for her. Absolutely will not cooperate on this with school authorities. On May third agent left note for mother to take Nellie to MCH. Home fairly clean but not ventilated. On May third mother refused to have Nellie treated. Stated that when children had diphtheria recently and a sign was put on door she took it off, sent doctor away, and treated children herself. Therefore a complaint of neglect was made in court. On May fourth mother threatened harm if case was not put off. Finally agreed to come to court. On May sixth the court ordered mother to have all nine children examined. On May twenty-sixth mother refused to send children to clinic as per court order. Baby died in home without parents realizing it. On June first mother was insolent and refused to send children to the clinic. Doctor of the Board of Health reported this as serious case, but very discouraging. On May twenty-sixth doctor had advised mother to send Vera to hospital because of pneumonia. Mother refused to do this. Nellie was in bed sick with discharging gland on June first. Vera sitting on doorstep with pain of 104. Child appeared pale, sickly and dull-eyed. Mother created a disturbance in the hospital. On June third mother was in Municipal Court for failure to provide properly for Nellie, Vera, and John. Therefore the court instructed agent to have Vera admitted to the City Hospital. Nellie de-livered boards and was committed on a temporary mittimus to the DCO. Father at this time was reported as handicapped and with one arm. Mother and children did not want him in home. Nellie when pre-tioned said that Vera had diphtheria. On June sixth mother was allowed to go home on own recognizance and told to return for examination by an



alienist on June ninth. On June seventh agent of the Society came to call for children and she was assaulted by the oldest sibling. Agent called the police and the family in the meanwhile rushed away to the Juvenile Court. Judge severely reprimanded Sophie and told her to return to Russia if she couldn't behave. Child was taken to the Chardon Street Home. On June eighth Vera was at the MGH and was found to have diseased tonsils and considered possible carrier of diphtheria. Also diagnosed as undernourished and Wassermann was given her. A friend of the family came to inquire as to what had happened to Vera and it was explained to him that it was for the child's good. On June ninth mother was found guilty of neglect of children and appealed, but later withdrew appeal and took probation. John's case was now filed. Mother on probation on case of Nellie and Vera. On June eleventh Vera was reported as being sick and very weak. Child was weak and undernourished and was taken home because she was pining away for family. MGH then reported Vera's diphtheria culture positive. After much bickering and searching the child was found and was taken to the South Department of the City Hospital. On June thirteenth Vera was found to be active diphtheria case. Mother's probation officer agreed to get mother to have cultures taken on all the children. On June fourteenth the City Hospital reported that it couldn't give convalescent care and would notify as to date of discharge of Vera. On June twentieth the Board of Health doctor reported the family clear of disease. Vera was reported to have bacteriological diphtheria which might last all her life. Hospital studying to determine virulence of the germ. Nellie in need of tonsillectomy. No history of tuberculosis reported. On June twenty-fifth Vera was ready for discharge. On June twenty-ninth mother agreed to have Society plan summer vacation for two younger boys. Mother to have all children in clinic. Father in office



alienated on June ninth. On June seventh agent of the Society came to call for children and she was assisted by the oldest sibling. Agent called the police and the family in the meanwhile rushed away to the Juvenile Court. Judge severely reprimanded Sophie and told her to return to home if she couldn't behave. Child was taken to the Marion Street Home. On June eighth Vera was at the MGH and was found to have diseased tonsils and considered possible carrier of diphtheria. Also diagnosed as undernourished and Wassermann was given her. A friend of the family came to inquire as to what had happened to Vera and it was explained to him that it was for the child's good. On June ninth mother was found guilty of neglect of children and appealed, but later withdrew appeal and took probation. John's case was now filed. Mother on probation on case of Nellie and Vera. On June eleventh Vera was reported as being sick and very weak. Child was weak and undernourished and was taken home because she was pining away for family. MGH then reported Vera's diphtheria culture positive. After much pickering and searching the child was found and was taken to the South Department of the City Hospital. On June thirteenth Vera was found to be active diphtheria case. Mother's probation officer agreed to get mother to have cultures taken on all the children. On June fourteenth the City Hospital reported that it couldn't give convalescent care and would notify as to date of discharge of Vera. On June twentieth the Board of Health doctor reported the family clear of disease. Vera was reported to have bacteriological diphtheria which might last all her life. Hospital studying to determine virulence of the germ. Nellie in need of tonsillectomy. No history of subnormalities reported. On June twenty-fifth Vera was ready for discharge. On June twenty-ninth mother agreed to have Society give summer vacation for two younger boys. Mother to have all children in clinic. Father in office



appeared to be wreck from intemperance. Agreed to pay \$9 support. Mother's probation officer in August said that Salvation Army willing to give boys two weeks free vacation in camp at end of month. Mother came to see agent and reported that Nellie was still in the hospital having had tonsillectomy. Vera still thin but well and outdoors playing. Mother thanked agent for all that had been done, and what was most surprising asked agent to come again. Probation officer found it best not to have boys go on vacation according to report of August twenty-seventh. Probation officer wanted continued probation on account of male boarders and young girls in home. None of family have recent record except Alexander 7-12-34 assault and battery, ten days in House of Correction ss., probation.

In December of 1934 writer made visit to home. Nellie in kitchen washing. Family living in fairly nice street in suburb(industrial). Nellie picture of health. Reports that father died a few days ago. Sophie living away from home by herself. Home clean but somewhat disordered because of washing. Nellie in first year of high school. Vera in fifth grade at eleven years of age. Home supported by Peter who works, and another brother who is in the CCC camp. Nellie says she wants to be an office worker. Appears to be a nice and pleasant girl. No one else at home.

With the limited information we have, this case is a success in so far as mother's superstitions and prejudices against medical care were finally overcome to the point where she finally realized that the Society was the friend of her children and their welfare. At present girls are healthy and that much has been accomplished by the Society in making it possible for them to continue to live and adjust more adequately to life.



appeared to be wreck from disfigurement. Agreed to pay \$2 support. Mother's  
probation officer in August said that Salvation Army willing to give boys  
two weeks free vacation in camp at end of month. Mother came to see agent  
and reported that Nellie was still in the hospital having had tonsillitis.  
Very still thin but well and outdoors playing. Mother thanked agent for all  
that had been done, and what was most surprising asked agent to come again.  
Probation officer found it best not to have boys go on vacation according  
to report of August twenty-seventh. Probation officer wanted continued  
probation on account of same behavior and young girls in home. None of  
family have recent record except Alexander V-12-24 assault and battery.  
Ten days in House of Correction as.. probation.

In December of 1934 writer made visit to home. Nellie in  
kitchen washing. Family living in fairly nice street in suburb(industrial).  
Nellie picture of health. Reports that father died a few days ago. Sophie  
living away from home by herself. Home clean but somewhat disordered be-  
cause of washing. Nellie in first year of high school. Very in fifth  
grade at eleven years of age. Home supported by Peter who works, and  
another brother who is in the CCC camp. Nellie says she wants to be an  
office worker. Appears to be a nice and pleasant girl. No one else at  
home.

With the limited information we have, this case is a  
success in so far as mother's superstitions and prejudices against medical  
care were finally overcome to the point where she finally realized that the  
Society was the friend of her children and their welfare. At present girls  
are healthy and that much has been accomplished by the Society in making  
it possible for them to continue to live and adjust more adequately to life.



Case VIII. M.FAMILY

Eldico- ten years of age; Esther- four years of age.

The home of this colored family was consistently filthy and poor over a long period of treatment. Parents all through were uncooperative and gave medical attention to children only as they were compelled to do so by court order. On July 15, 1925, the MGH social service reported that child has rickets and deformed legs and that parents will not cooperate in treatment. Home conditions reported as being terrible. The home was found to be filthy and full of flies. Mother wouldn't agree to having Wilbur and Esther treated. Willing to go to the Boston Dispensary but not to the MGH. And thus begins her wild goose chase from place to place in the effort to finally avoid all treatment if possible.

On July eighteenth the father refused to allow agent to take mother and children to the clinic. Mother finally made up her mind to go and took Wilbur along. Mother said it was no use trying to persuade father. Mother advised on case. Baby was diagnosed as having rickets and the doctor advised continuance of formula and diet for baby. Mother agreed to bring Esther in for an examination and treatment. In August Wilbur was better, and mother was unwilling to cooperate further on treatment for Esther saying that nothing could be done for her and what was the use. In September Wilbur was placed on a diet of orange juice and cod liver oil. On the tenth Esther was finally gotten to the Orthopedic Clinic of the Children's Hospital. Case pronounced as rickets. Child to be admitted to hospital to have legs straightened. On the twenty-first Wilbur broke his leg and mother refused to cooperate in treatment. On the twenty-third she finally went to the Boston Dispensary and doctor prescribed same diet and mother told she must wean child. Wilbur's leg was put in a cast. On



Eldest - ten years of age; Wilbur - four years of age.

The home of this colored family was consistently filthy

and poor over a long period of treatment. Parents all through were un-cooperative and gave medical attention to children only as they were com-pelled to do so by court order. On July 18, 1935, the MCH social service reported that child has rickets and deformed legs and that parents will not cooperate in treatment. Home conditions reported as being terrible. The home was found to be filthy and full of flies. Mother wouldn't agree to having Wilbur and Esther treated. Willing to go to the Boston Dispensary but not to the MCH. And then begins her wild goose chase from place to place in the effort to finally avoid all treatment if possible.

On July eighteenth the father refused to allow agent to take mother and children to the clinic. Mother finally made up her mind to go and took Wilbur along. Mother said it was no use trying to persuade father. Mother advised on case. Baby was diagnosed as having rickets and the doctor advised continuance of formula and diet for baby. Mother agreed to bring Esther in for an examination and treatment. In August Wilbur was better, and mother was unwilling to cooperate further on treatment for father saying that nothing could be done for her and what was the use. In September Wilbur was placed on a diet of orange juice and cod liver oil. On the tenth Esther was finally gotten to the Orthopedic Clinic of the Children's Hospital. Case pronounced as rickets. Child to be admitted to hospital to have legs straightened. On the twenty-first Wilbur broke his leg and mother refused to cooperate in treatment. On the twenty-third she finally went to the Boston Dispensary and doctor prescribed same diet and mother told she must wean child. Wilbur's leg was put in a cast. On



October second mother and father fought and child could not have x-ray taken. On the fifteenth Children's Hospital reports that Esther needs two weeks care and mother promised to take Esther to hospital. On the twenty-ninth mother suddenly changed her mind and decided she wanted child(Esther) to go to Boston Dispensary instead of Children's Hospital. In November father threatened dire results if anything went wrong with Esther's treatment, but agent said that they should go ahead anyway. Garfield was out of school because of lack of shoes, and Eldico needed work in posture clinic. Mother finally secured shoes for Garfield. Mother said that she waited word for Esther's operation, but that she wanted child home for Christmas and Thanksgiving holidays. On the twenty-fifth arrangements were made for Esther at the Boston Dispensary but mother refused to accept these saying she had lost her confidence in the place because they made her wait so long. On the twenty-seventh father and mother again quarrelled over treatment for Esther. In January of 1926 it was reported that home had burned and that Eldico out of school for lack of shoes. Mother said children went to school when they could and that record of absences was unfair to them. Said that she would treat Esther as soon as she could. Agent now threatened action. In February the attendance officer reported three children going to school were truants and that he would bring them in as soon as he saw father. On February 23, 1926 Eldico had lobar pneumonia and parents already had refused to send child to hospital for a week despite doctor's orders. Community Health Association reported child very ill, care very poor, bed dirty, dressed in dirty bath robe. She didn't have sufficient water to drink. Agent went to home, opened windows and gave child some milk. Mother refused to have doctor. However on 2-25-26 she called a doctor who forced her to send child to hospital. On March eighth mother



October second mother and father fought and child could not have a very happy  
On the fifteenth children's Hospital reports that father needs two weeks  
care and mother promised to take father to hospital. On the twenty-ninth  
mother suddenly changed her mind and decided she wanted child (father) to go  
to Boston Dispensary instead of children's Hospital. In November father  
threatened divorce results if anything went wrong with father's treatment, but  
agent said that they should go ahead anyway. Garfield was out of school  
because of lack of shoes, and Ellice needed work in postural clinic. Mother  
finally secured shoes for Garfield. Mother said that she waited word for  
father's operation, but that she wanted child home for Christmas and  
Thanksgiving holidays. On the twenty-fifth arrangements were made for  
father at the Boston Dispensary but mother refused to accept these saying  
she had lost her confidence in the place because they made her wait so long.  
On the twenty-seventh father and mother again quarrelled over treatment for  
father. In January of 1933 it was reported that home had burned and that  
Ellice out of school for lack of shoes. Mother said children went to  
school when they could and that record of absences was unfair to them. Said  
that she would treat father as soon as she could. Agent now threatened  
action. In February the attendance officer reported three children going  
to school were truant and that he would bring them in as soon as he saw  
father. On February 23, 1933 Ellice had lobar pneumonia and parents  
already had refused to send child to hospital for a week despite doctor's  
orders. Community Health Association reported child very ill, came very  
poor, bed dirty, dressed in dirty robe. She didn't have sufficient  
water to drink. Agent went to home, opened windows and gave child some  
milk. Mother refused to have doctor. However on 2-25-33 she called a  
doctor who forced her to send child to hospital. On March eighth mother



removed Eldico from the hospital against advice. Mother said that nurses were scornful to child. A few days later the Community Health Association reported home in very bad condition again and that immediate hospitalization was needed. Wilbur died on 3-12-26. Mother had refused treatment for Wilbur despite doctors advice and pleas. Mother refused to allow Eldico to go to the City Hospital, and laughed at idea of agent taking court action. On the seventeenth neglect warrants were served despite father's protest. Eldico was now taken to the Homeopathic Hospital despite mother's protests. On the twenty-fourth Eldico was reported to be doing well. On the twenty-fifth mother refused to have Esther treated till Eldico was returned. On April fifth Eldico was returned to home by court order. On the sixth mother reported that she had ordered brace at the Sclerosis Clinic of the Homeopathic Hospital and that Eldico was not to go to school till she had brace.

On May fifth neighbors in new tenement house reported to school visitor that children were neglected. Out on streets at all times. Mother stays out till 2 a.m. Margaret and Garfield both in special class and bothering neighbor's children. On the eleventh mother and father promised to pay something toward brace as soon as father returned to work. On June twelfth Esther was reported in MGH with broken leg. On September twenty-fourth the Homeopathic Hospital reported that Eldico didn't return for necessary readjustment of brace. On the thirtieth the teacher reported that Eldico was not wearing her brace. Child intermittently dull and bright and teacher suspected malnutrition. Often she comes to school without breakfast. Home found to be dirty. Mother in bed in middle of the room. Kitchen table was covered with dirty newspapers. Mother and father were impudent. Father said that brace was no good and would pay no attention to



removed Hibbs from the hospital against advice. Mother said that nurses were according to child. A few days later the Community Health Association reported home in very bad condition again and that immediate hospitalization was needed. Wilcox died on 3-12-36. Mother had refused treatment for Wilcox despite doctors advice and pleas. Mother refused to allow Hibbs to go to the City Hospital, and laughed at idea of agent taking court action. On the seventeenth neglect warrants were served despite father's protest. Hibbs was now taken to the Homeopathic Hospital despite mother's protests. On the twenty-fourth Hibbs was reported to be doing well. On the twenty-fifth mother refused to have Esther arrested till Hibbs was returned. On April fifth Hibbs was returned to home by court order. On the sixth mother reported that she had ordered braces at the Holston Clinic of the Homeopathic Hospital and that Hibbs was not to go to school till she had braces. On May fifth neighbors in new tenement house reported to school visitor that children were neglected. Out on streets at all times. Mother stays out till 2 a.m. Margaret and Gertrude both in special class and bothering neighbor's children. On the eleventh mother and father promised to pay something toward braces as soon as father returned to work. On June twelfth Esther was reported in MCH with broken leg. On September twenty-fourth the Homeopathic Hospital reported that Hibbs didn't return for necessary readjustment of braces. On the thirtieth the teacher reported that Hibbs was not wearing her braces. Child intermittently dull and bright and teacher suspected malnutrition. Often she comes to school without breakfast. Home found to be dirty. Mother in bed in middle of the room. Kitchen table was covered with dirty newspapers. Mother and father were abundant. Father said that braces was no good and would pay no attention to



statement that it had needed adjustment a long time ago and he had been told so. Mother reported that Esther's operation had to be delayed. On November eighth mother had taken neither child to hospital for necessary treatment, nor had she given necessary exercises to Eldico's leg. Home filthy and cluttered. On 11-27-26 David was born. On 12-20-26 admitting office of the MGH reported letter to mother returned. Therefore Esther had lost chance to be admitted. On the twenty-seventh the Homeopathic Hospital reported that mother visits faithfully and that child's sclerosis is very serious and nothing much can be done for her. On January 1, 1927 mother was disgruntled over court requirements and said that Esther's case had to be delayed again. On January twelfth Esther was admitted to the MGH. Esther to be in cast for six to eight weeks. Must come to clinic in two weeks. On the twenty-sixth mother refused services of Children's Mission motor service. Home in terrible condition. Esther in room in which there was only a crib. In February child was finally boarded in medical home by Children's Mission, over father's protest with mother's consent. In March Eldico was in the Eye and Ear Infirmary for glasses. Teacher reports her doing well in school. Wears brace and works less deformed fashion. Seems better nourished and better dressed. In April Esther was reported doing well and going to clinic. In May rooms were cleaned up, though bedroom and kitchen still disordered. Garfield quarrelling with neighbor's children. On May twenty-sixth mother criticised work of hospital and refused to allow Esther to go to medical camp. On June twenty-fourth the court ordered Esther to Sunlight Hospital Repair Shop at Egypt, Massachusetts, if there is vacancy. On June twenty-eighth Esther admitted to latter, and taken there on July fourteenth. In August Esther was reported to be doing splendidly. On September twenty-third Esther returned home and received



statement that it had needed adjustment a long time ago and he had been told so. Mother reported that Father's operation had to be delayed. On November eighth mother had taken neither child to hospital for necessary treatment, nor had she given necessary exercises to William's leg. Home filthy and cluttered. On 11-27-36 David was born. On 12-30-36 admitting office of the MCH reported letter to mother returned. Therefore Father had lost chance to be admitted. On the twenty-seventh the Homeopathic Hospital reported that mother visits lazily and that child's condition is very serious and nothing much can be done for her. On January 1, 1937 mother was disgruntled over court requirements and said that Father's case had to be delayed again. On January twelfth Father was admitted to the MCH. Father to be in cast for six to eight weeks. Went come to clinic in two weeks. On the twenty-sixth mother refused services of Children's Mission motor service. Home in terrible condition. Father in room in which there was only a crib. In February child was finally boarded in medical home by Children's Mission, over Father's protest with mother's consent. In March William was in the Eye and Ear Infirmary for glasses. Teacher reports her doing well in school. Wears brace and works less deftly than before. Being better nourished and better dressed. In April Father was reported doing well and going to clinic. In May rooms were cleaned up, though bedroom and kitchen still disordered. Continued quarrelling with neighbor's children. On May twenty-sixth mother criticised work of hospital and refused to allow Father to go to medical camp. On June twenty-fourth the court ordered Father to Sunlight Hospital Repair Shop at Weymouth, Massachusetts, if there is vacancy. On June twenty-eighth Father admitted to latter, and later there on July fourteenth. In August Father was reported to be doing splendidly. On September twenty-third Father returned home and received



rather cold welcome. On October fourth mother blamed Sunlight Hospital for fact that Esther had a cold. Parents very rude and impudent to Community Health nurses. On March 13, 1928 house in terrible confusion. Eldico has cold and not wearing brace. Mother disappointed with results in Esther's operation and will not allow another operation. On May seventeenth mother said she would sue Society for lack of results in Esther's operation. On June twenty-first Eldico died of lobar pneumonia. Another illustration of mother's benighted stupidity and ignorance is shown by fact that she said that Eldico died of heart trouble caused by tight brace. Mother absolutely would not or could not understand anything that people did for the care and improvement of her own children. She was perfectly willing to have them die all around her without giving any care at all. Was it ignorance, pig-headedness, infantile emotional reaction against facts of life?

On July thirtieth father ordered agent out of house. The Urban League was now asked to step in and see what could be done for the family by people of their own race and they completely failed because of father's "hard-boiled and domineering attitudes" and lack of cooperation. In October Esther was reported in first grade, and a visitor of another agency reported that Esther would attend posture clinic and that family would give no more trouble in this regard. In July of 1932 mother reported all children well, though Esther's legs still deformed. Mother said that previous operation had done no good and that there would be no others. Mother resented agent's visit. Home conditions bad as usual and mother couldn't see reason for Society interfering in her affairs. In October of 1932 mother reported children well and in school. Father working regularly. Mother uncooperative and rude to visitor. Men playing cards in kitchen. Home filthy.



rather cold welcome. On October fourth mother blamed Smith's Hospital for fact that Father had a cold. Parents very rude and impudent to Community Health nurses. On March 15, 1938 house in terrible condition. Edith has cold and not wanting nurse. Mother disappointed with results in Father's operation and will not allow another operation. On May seventeenth mother said she would sue Society for lack of results in Father's operation. On June twenty-first Edith died of lobar pneumonia. Another illustration of mother's benighted stupidity and ignorance is shown by fact that she said that Edith died of heart trouble caused by tight braces. Mother absolutely would not or could not understand anything that people did for the case and die all around her without giving any care at all. Was it ignorance, pig-headedness, infantile emotional reaction against facts of life?

On July thirtieth father ordered agent out of house. The Urban League was now asked to step in and see what could be done for the family by people of their own race and they completely failed because of father's "hard-boiled and dominating attitudes" and lack of cooperation. In October Father was reported in first grade, and a visitor of another agency reported that Father would attend posture clinic and that family would give no more trouble in this regard. In July of 1938 mother reported all children well, though Father's legs still deformed. Mother said that previous operation had done no good and that there would be no others. Mother resented agent's visit. Home conditions bad as usual and mother couldn't see reason for Society interfering in her affairs. In October of 1938 mother reported children well and in school. Father working regularly. Mother uncooperative and rude to visitor. Men playing cards in kitchen. Home filthy.



In December of 1934, writer made a visit to the home.

Mother says that Esther is in school. Has grown quite a bit. Never had another operation on her leg, and mother still avers that hospital care made her worse. Refuses to hear about another operation and says husband is working and everything all right. There seemed to be some new babies in house though couldn't ascertain for sure. Family living in an alley street in very filthy and congested neighborhood. Parents' attitudes towards medical care of children still unchanged though they may be a little more careful to avoid further court litigation. Home very dark and dreary. Hallway absolutely pitch dark in the middle of the day. Mother still suspicious of social agencies and appeared scared of writer's visit and said only as much as was asked of her. Father's last record 4-6-32 paid \$50 fine for concealing lottery. Mother's last record is 9-22-30, Threats, discharged. Garfield's record 7-5-34 for exposing goods for sale on the Boston Common, filed. Hence from legal point of view family is all right. However their attitudes are still bad and detrimental to the welfare of their ever increasing family. In face of such dogged opposition without sufficient evidence for removal of children what can an agency do with such a family? Practically nothing, since the parents do not appear to be educable. This family represents a failure of society in properly educating this pair of people for the duties and responsibilities of parenthood.

Said that mother received all the money from the lottery and was the

first year that mother had to work outside the home and was the

#### Case IX. D.FAMILY

Salvatore- eleven years and nine months; Giacomina- nine years;  
Josephine- two years and seven months.

The home conditions in this family were very unsatisfactory because the parents quarrelled over family affairs. This Italian family



In December of 1934, writer made a visit to the home. Mother says that Father is in school. Her grown sister is ill. Never had another operation on her leg, and mother still avers that hospital care made her worse. Refused to hear about another operation and says husband is working and everything all right. There seemed to be some new babies in house though couldn't ascertain for sure. Family living in an alley street in very filthy and congested neighborhood. Father's attitudes towards medical care of children still unchanged though they may be a little more careful to avoid further court litigation. Home very dark and dreary. Hallway absolutely pitch dark in the middle of the day. Mother still suspicious of social agencies and appeared scared of writer's visit and said only as much as was asked of her. Father's last record 4-8-32 paid \$50 fine for concealing lottery. Mother's last record is 8-23-30. Threats, dis-charged. Garfield's record 7-8-34 for exposing goods for sale on the Boston Common, fined. Hence from legal point of view family is all right. However their attitudes are still bad and detrimental to the welfare of their ever increasing family. In face of such bogged opposition without sufficient evidence for removal of children what can an agency do with such a family? Practically nothing, since the parents do not appear to be educable. This family represents a failure of society in properly educating this pair of people for the duties and responsibilities of parenthood.

#### Case IX. D. FAMILY

Salvatore - eleven years and nine months; Giuseppe - nine years;  
Josephine - two years and seven months.

The home conditions in this family were very unsatisfactory

because the parents quarrelled over family affairs. This Italian family



lived in a small but very important town, historically speaking, some ten or twenty miles away from Boston. The parents were both born and married in Italy. The family, as a whole, were rather misfits in this typically American and New England community with its traditions and old family lines, and its unstable condition was made very apparent by the quarrelling of the parents and the miserable conditions in which they lived.

On June 15, 1921 the principal of the school which Salvatore attended reported that Salvatore was allowed to remain up so late evenings that he went to sleep in school. Father was reported to be mistreating crippled mother, and youngest child was left alone because both parents were working. The mother was therefore warned to put Salvatore to bed earlier. The Town Clerk reported that the father was known as Charlie Chaplin because of his appearance and personality and that he mistreated his wife. The Chief of Police of the town reported that the father was arrested for stealing pigeons about three years ago. Some of the neighbors reported that father abused mother and others denied that this was true. It was reported that the parents were cousins.

In July when the agent visited the home the father refused to talk to agent saying that latter had no right to pry into home conditions. Then he said in mother's presence that latter had a "big mouth". Said that mother once had him sent away for non-support for four months. Said that mother received all of his wages each week and that this was the first year that mother had to work outside. Denied that he abused mother, and said that even if she was crippled she couldn't insult his mother by calling her a whore, etc. without expecting him to beat her up. Wants mother to take him to court so that they might be separated and he is even willing to give her half of his wages. Father's friend who was about



lived in a small but very important town, historically speaking, some ten or twenty miles away from Boston. The parents were both born and married in Italy. The family, as a whole, were rather distant in this typically American and New England community with its traditions and old family lines, and its unstable condition was made very apparent by the quarrelling of the parents and the miserable conditions in which they lived.

On June 15, 1931 the principal of the school which Salvatore attended reported that Salvatore was allowed to remain up so late evenings that he went to sleep in school. Father was reported to be mis- treating crippled mother, and youngest child was left alone because both parents were working. The mother was therefore warned to get Salvatore to bed earlier. The town clerk reported that the father was known as Charlie Chaplin because of his appearance and personality and that he mistreated his wife. The United States Police of the town reported that the father was arrested for stealing pigeons about three years ago. Some of the neighbors reported that father abused mother and others denied that this was true. It was reported that the parents were cousins.

In July when the agent visited the home the father refused to talk to agent saying that latter had no right to pry into home condi- tions. Then he said in mother's presence that latter had a "big mouth". Said that mother once had him sent away for non-support for four months. Said that mother received all of his wages each week and that this was the first year that mother had to work outside. Denied that he abused mother, and said that even if she was crippled she couldn't insult his mother by calling her a whore, etc. without expecting him to beat her up. Wanted mother to take him to court so that they might be separated and he is even willing to give her half of his wages. Father's friend who was about



twenty-eight years of age lived with them.

Mother was afraid to talk before father and said that she cooked food that father provided. Denied neglect of children. The rooms on the lower floor were clean and mother was breaking bread. Mother is a hunchback and walked around house in her bare feet (a typical peasant woman), but seemed to be very clean. Father was tall and slender and quick-tempered.

Agent advised mother that she should see that father's meals were prepared on time and shouldn't use bad language, and that they should make up the quarrel between them. Agent warned father not to strike mother. Salvatore A. the young man who was in the home at the time refused to comment on family affairs though living with family for a long while. Another boarder who was Irish said that father quarrels because mother doesn't give him enough spending money. Thought that parents should be separated.

In December mother reported conditions improved and father not working much, though father repeated same complaints of mother calling his mother names, of not cooking and of quarrelling because of four dollars he sent to paternal grandmother in Italy. Father was finding it hard to secure sufficient work. The probation officer in the court later reported that he could not persuade mother to press charges against father and that both parents were to blame for the situation. In January of 1922 Salvatore's principal reported him to be all right.

In November of 1926 the school nurse reported that the landlord was trying to evict mother from cottage in which she lived. Father was in Boston and was anxious to have the mother and children join him. Conditions in present home were very unsatisfactory and family was



twenty-eight years of age lived with them.

Mother was afraid to talk before father and said that she cooked food that father provided. Denied neglect of children. The rooms on the lower floor were clean and mother was providing bread. Mother is a innkeeper and walked around house in her bare feet (a typical peasant woman), but seemed to be very clean. Father was tall and slender and quick-tempered.

Agent advised mother that she should see that father's needs were prepared on time and should use bad language, and that they should make up the quarrel between them. Agent warned father not to strike mother. Salvatore A. the young man who was in the home at the time refused to comment on family affairs though living with family for a long while.

Another boarder who was Irish said that father quarrels because mother doesn't give him enough spending money. Thought that parents should be separated.

In December mother reported conditions improved and father not working much, though father reported same complaints of mother calling his mother names, of not cooking and of quarrelling because of four dollars he sent to paternal grandmother in Italy. Father was finding it hard to secure sufficient work. The probation officer in the court later reported that he could not persuade mother to press charges against father and that both parents were to blame for the situation. In January of 1933 Salvatore's principal reported him to be all right.

In November of 1933 the school nurse reported that the landlord was trying to evict mother from cottage in which she lived. Father was in Boston and was anxious to have the mother and children join him. Conditions in present home were very unsatisfactory and family was



reported to have reached a crisis. At this time father was both willing and able to support mother and family, but mother refused to move from present home despite notice to vacate since August. The premises were so bad that the Board of Health had condemned the house and the roof was leaking in the kitchen.

On December 1, 1926 the school nurse reported that mother continuously asks for discharge cards for the children to Boston and that after they are discharged they roam the streets for such long time that they have to be reenrolled. Salvatore is a defective and needs special class work. Children come to school neglected and dirty. Children have been receiving free milk in the school. Landlord had turned water off, but school nurse had persuaded him to turn water on again as family would not get out.

At home with school nurse, agent found different home from one in 1921. Mother and three children were at home. Mother didn't like father's Boston residence and hence didn't want to join him. Father sent money every week. Mother liked town in which they were now residing better than Boston and hence did not want to move. Father did not send any money this week and mother said that if father returned she would secure work for him. The house was in a terrible condition. The windows were stuffed with rags and the home which was an old four room cottage was falling into ruins. Mother reported that the cellar was filled with water and showed one water pipe that she had repaired with rags. Kitchen was in absolute confusion. In the parlor there was a table and a single chair. The bedroom on the second floor had holes in the wall which were stuffed with rags and there were rolled up mattresses lying about. There was much loose wood in the kitchen. The home was opposite a Roman Catholic cemetery.



reported to have reached a crisis. At this time father was both willing and able to support mother and family, but mother refused to move from present home despite notice to vacate since August. The premises were so bad that the Board of Health had condemned the house and the roof was leaking in the kitchen.

On December 1, 1928 the school nurse reported that mother continuously seeks for discharge cards for the children to Boston and that after they are discharged they roam the streets for such long time that they have to be resupplied. Salvatore is a defective and needs special class work. Children come to school neglected and dirty. Children have been receiving free milk in the school. Landlord had turned water off, but school nurse had persuaded him to turn water on again as family would not get out.

At home with school nurse, agent found different home from one in 1921. Mother and three children were at home. Mother didn't like father's Boston residence and hence didn't want to join him. Mother wanted money every week. Mother liked town in which they were now residing better than Boston and hence did not want to move. Father did not send any money this week and mother said that if father returned she would secure work for him. The house was in a terrible condition. The windows were stuffed with rags and the home which was an old four room cottage was falling into ruins. Mother reported that the cellar was filled with water and showed one water pipe that she had repaired with rags. Kitchen was in absolute confusion. In the parlor there was a table and a single chair. The bedroom on the second floor had holes in the wall which were stuffed with rags and there were rolled up mattresses lying about. There was much loose wood in the kitchen. The home was opposite a Roman Catholic cemetery.



The Chief of Police said that father was suspected of bootlegging and once was fined \$100 for illegal sale, which mother paid. Reported that will have to throw mother out of her home since it has been condemned by the Board of Health.

In the police station in Boston which was in father's precinct, it was reported that father was suspected of bootlegging, but no findings had yet been made. Father was living in three rooms which were dirty because there was no woman to clean the home. Father was working and wanted family to join him.

On December second the Probation Officer advised proceedings of neglect against mother, especially since colder weather was coming and mother insisted in staying in old hovel. Mother refused again to join husband in Boston; said she preferred quiet of place where she was living and said she couldn't stand drinking where father was now living. Said that she didn't like to live among the colored people. Mother's home was very cold. Mother wanted to know if father intended to return. Mr. C. the town almoner said that once when an attempt was made to evict mother she flaunted a roll of over one hundred dollar bills in front of marshall's face. Mother has paid her rent up to date. Mother reported that both parents were born in Messina, Sicily.

On December third complaint of neglect was issued against three children for neglect. On December fourth the children were arraigned on complaint and Salvatore was put in the care and custody of the Society, and Josephine was allowed to remain with her mother. On December tenth the HDCC said that they would take Giacomina, but not Salvatore. On December fifteenth the father tried to spirit Giacomina away from Society Temporary Home. On December seventeenth mother wanted case transferred to Boston.



The Chief of Police said that father was suspected of bootlegging and once was fined \$100 for illegal sale, which mother paid. Reported that will have to throw mother out of her home since it has been condemned by the Board of Health.

In the police station in Boston which was in father's precinct, it was reported that father was suspected of bootlegging, but no findings had yet been made. Father was living in three rooms which were dirty because there was no woman to clean the home. Father was working and wanted family to join him.

On December second the Probation Officer advised proceedings of neglect against mother, especially since colder weather was coming and mother insisted on staying in old hotel. Mother refused again to join husband in Boston; said she preferred quiet of place where she was living and said she couldn't stand drinking where father was now living. Said that she didn't like to live among the colored people. Mother's home was very cold. Mother wanted to know if father intended to return. Mr. G. of the town almoner said that once when an attempt was made to evict mother she flung a roll of over one hundred dollar bills in front of Marshall's face. Mother has paid her rent up to date. Mother reported that both parents were born in Maine, Sicily.

On December third complaint of neglect was issued against three children for neglect. On December fourth the children were arraigned on complaint and Salvatore was put in the care and custody of the Society and Josephine was allowed to remain with her mother. On December tenth the HDCC said that they would take Giuseppe, but not Salvatore. On December fifteenth the father tried to spirit Giuseppe away from Society temporary home. On December seventeenth mother wanted case transferred to Boston.



The family were living in hopelessly confused three room apartment. There was no fire in the stove and there were quantities of mattresses in the parlor. Mother said that Salvatore would sleep in the kitchen and the rest of the family in the back bedroom. On December twentieth father was insolent to the judge and he was ordered locked up in bar enclosure. Mother became hysterical in court and fainted. Father tried to escape from court and was arrested for contempt of court and was fined \$15.

On January 14, 1927 Mr. C. reported that Boston had sent a bill for aid to him and that he would have this investigated. On January fifteenth the children were still with the DCG and the Boston Public Welfare department was given the facts in the case. They had given the family \$5 and \$7 orders for groceries. On January twentieth mother gave birth to a baby boy. On the twenty-seventh the family doctor discouraged proposed return of Salvatore and Giacomina. On March second the Boston Overseers of the Public Welfare were giving the family \$7 week, \$5 week in grocery orders, and fuel. At the DCG it was reported that the children were placed in the town of W..... and Salvatore doesn't want to return to his home. Father threatened to take children. Father recently received \$106 from an insurance company for an injury to his finger. At the DAR, it was reported that family was receiving aid from this organization too. On 4-20-27 John died of bronchial pneumonia at the age of four months. In June father reported in court that he was working and was giving mother twenty dollars a week for expenses and that he was also paying the rent of sixteen dollars per month for four rooms. On 6-7-27 the court ordered the children returned and they were discharged from the DCG on 6-29-27 after thorough examination. In September it was reported that the three children were at home. Salvatore was in the fourth grade and Giacomina in the second. Father purchased a



The family were living in hopelessly crowded three room apartment. There was no fire in the stove and there were quantities of mattresses in the parlor. Mother said that Salvatore would sleep in the kitchen and the rest of the family in the back bedroom. On December twentieth father was in- sulted to the judge and he was ordered locked up in his enclosure. Mother became hysterical in court and fainted. Father tried to escape from court and was arrested for contempt of court and was fined \$15.

On January 14, 1927 Mr. C. reported that Boston had sent a bill for aid to him and that he would have this investigated. On January fifteenth the children were still with the DCS and the Boston Public Welfare Department was given the facts in the case. They had given the family \$5 and \$7 orders for groceries. On January twentieth mother gave birth to a baby boy. On the twenty-seventh the family doctor discouraged proposed re- turn of Salvatore and Giacomina. On March second the Boston Overseers of the Public Welfare were giving the family \$7 week, \$5 week in grocery orders and fuel. At the DCS it was reported that the children were placed in the town of W..... and Salvatore doesn't want to return to his home. Father threatened to take children. Father recently received \$106 from an insurance company for an injury to his finger. At the DAB, it was reported that family was receiving aid from this organization too. On 4-20-27 John died of bronchial pneumonia at the age of four months. In June father reported in court that he was working and was giving mother twenty dollars a week for expenses and that he was also paying the rent of sixteen dollars per month for four rooms. On 6-7-27 the court ordered the children returned and they were discharged from the DCS on 6-20-27 after thorough examination. In September it was reported that the three children were at home. Salvatore was in the fourth grade and Giacomina in the second. Father purchased a



piano for the children on the installment plan at three dollars a week. The rooms were clean and the family had new furniture. Father was earning twenty dollars a week with a bread company. The children were well dressed. Mother says that father was not drinking since working at this company and that family was well off.

On March 10, 1928 father reported that work at the bakery was now slow. The family were now receiving ten dollars a week on grocery order from the City of Boston. Father was not seeking work and says that since friends and neighbors cannot get work, how could he. Mother had a miscarriage in January. The player-piano was still in the parlor unused. Father now owed two months payments on the piano and sixteen dollars on the rent. Maternal uncles visiting in home considered it a great joke when it was suggested that they look for a job with the aid of a social agency kept up for this purpose. The Baking company reported that father was laid off for being impudent, unsatisfactory, and wanting to boss himself. The police officers on the beat knew Salvatore as a feeble-minded boy. Father was again suspected of bootlegging. On April 18, 1928 father was working for a chocolate company at modest wage (c.\$20 week). Mother made fifteen dollar payment on piano while still owing three months rent. Salvatore spent previous day fishing for crabs and digging clams which he sold for a good price. On September fifth father was reported to be working rather regularly out-of-door during summer and gave up work at chocolate factory because he likes out of doors in summer. Mother still owed three months rent which she paid up at rate of five dollars a month. Mother showed agent pictures taken in town in which they formerly lived. The kitchen and bedrooms were very disorderly though the parlor was in fair condition because never used. On September eleventh the mother applied for aid at the



23

piano for the children on the installment plan at three dollars a week. The rooms were clean and the family had new furniture. Father was earning twenty dollars a week with a bread company. The children were well dressed. Mother says that father was not drinking since working at this company and that family was well off.

On March 10, 1938 father reported that work at the bakery was now slow. The family were now receiving ten dollars a week on grocery order from the City of Boston. Father was not seeking work and says that since friends and neighbors cannot get work, how could he. Mother had a miscarriage in January. The player-piano was still in the parlor unused. Father now owed two months payments on the piano and sixteen dollars on the rent. Maternal uncles visiting in home considered it a great joke when it was suggested that they look for a job with the aid of a social agency kept up for this purpose. The Baking company reported that father was laid off for being impudent, unsatisfactory, and wanting to boss himself. The police officers on the beat knew Salvatore as a feeble-minded boy. Father was again suspected of bootlegging. On April 18, 1938 father was working for a chocolate company at modest wage (c. \$30 week). Mother made fifteen dollar payment on piano while still owing three months rent. Salvatore spent pre-vious day fishing for crabs and digging clams which he sold for a good price. On September 15th father was reported to be working rather regularly out-of-door during summer and gave up work at chocolate factory because he likes out of doors in summer. Mother still owed three months rent which she paid up at rate of five dollars a month. Mother showed agent pictures taken in town in which they formerly lived. The kitchen and bedrooms were very disorderly though the parlor was in fair condition because never used. On September eleventh the mother applied for aid at the



Family Welfare Society. In October it was reported that the children were doing fairly well at school. Josephine was now in kindergarten. She was undernourished and needed school milk. Had it for two weeks and then stopped buying it. The mother now reported the father out of work for two weeks during which time the Overseers of the Public Welfare (OPW) supplied with groceries. Father was now working for landlord who took part of his wages as payment for back rent.

On January 5, 1929 Giacomina was reported out of school for two days because of cold. Josephine was reported as being very nervous and arrangements were made to visit a habit clinic. Salvatore now needed an adenoid and tonsil operation and mother promised to have it done when the weather was warmer. Father was not working for a week and OPW gave family grocery order. Home conditions were fair. Giacomina looked underweight though she had milk in school daily. The police officers at the neighboring police station reported that they caught father with a gallon of liquor but couldn't prove violation of the law. They are still watching him.

In March father was again out of work since December. The OPW was giving ten dollars a week in grocery orders. Josephine still was reported as having difficulty in sleeping. Mother hoped that she would be able to return to school in spring. Salvatore was home from school with a severe attack of tonsillitis. To have operation later. Giacomina was now attending school regularly. The family now owed three months back rent. Landlord to allow rent to run till father secures work. Home conditions fair.

In April father was working at the OPW wood pile for ten dollar week grocery order. In May the Habit Clinic reported that Josephine had an I.Q. of 61 and was probably a borderline feeble-minded child. Child



Family Welfare Society. In October it was reported that the children were doing fairly well at school. Josephine was now in kindergarten. She was undernourished and needed school milk. Had it for two weeks and then stopped buying it. The mother now reported the father out of work for two weeks during which time the Overseers of the Public Welfare (OPW) supplied with groceries. Father was now working for landlord who took part of his wages as payment for back rent.

On January 5, 1933 Giacomo was reported out of school for two days because of cold. Josephine was reported as being very nervous and arrangements were made to visit a health clinic. Salvatore now needed an adenoid and tonsil operation and mother promised to have it done when the weather was warmer. Father was not working for a week and OPW gave family grocery order. Home conditions were fair. Giacomo looked underweight though she had milk in school daily. The police officers at the neighboring police station reported that they caught father with a gallon of liquor but couldn't prove violation of the law. They are still watching him.

In March father was again out of work since December. The OPW was giving ten dollars a week in grocery orders. Josephine still was reported as having difficulty in sleeping. Mother hoped that she would be able to return to school in spring. Salvatore was home from school with a severe attack of tonsillitis. To have operation later. Giacomo was now attending school regularly. The family now owed three months back rent. Landlord to allow rent to run till father secures work. Home conditions fair.

In April father was working at the OPW wood pile for ten dollar week grocery order. In May the Health Clinic reported that Josephine had an I.Q. of 61 and was probably a borderline feeble-minded child. Child



needed another interview. Josephine was now very happy to be back in school. Mother was willing to return to the clinic. Salvatore and Giacomina now needed dental work. Salvatore had again had several attacks of tonsillitis. The home was in fair condition and mother still kept piano and victrola and records though behind in payments on them. Mother later came to Habit Clinic with Salvatore and Josephine. She thought that Salvatore could have a tonsillectomy at the Habit Clinic. Arrangements were made for same at the MGH. Father was now again working irregularly. On May eleventh Salvatore left home for many hours so as to avoid going to hospital. He was afraid he was going to die under the ether. On May thirteenth the school nurse was asked to cooperate. The latter reported that Giacomina attended the nutrition class but was afraid to eat anything but spaghetti. Giacomina was reported as having artistic ability. On June sixth it was reported that Giacomina was to enter the fifth grade. Josephine now attended school very irregularly because mother said that she liked out of doors in warm weather more than school. Salvatore was still warding off the necessary tonsillectomy. Father was working irregularly but there was no OPW aid now. Father and family were now dressed better. Salvatore hoped to work during the summer and earn money for clothes.

In September the family moved owing several months rent. Mother was now working at a laundry. The children were in school. The children were in better physical condition according to school report and Salvatore and Giacomina were much more friendly. Mother was earning ten dollars a week and worked so near to home that she could run home and have lunch with children. Mother paid a Polish woman a dollar a week to give half-day care to Josephine when she returned from kindergarten at noon. Salvatore earned enough for new outfit of clothes during summer. Father



needed another interview. Josephine was now very happy to be back in school. Mother was willing to return to the clinic. Salvatore and Giacomina now needed dental work. Salvatore had again had several attacks of convulsions. The home was in fair condition and mother still kept piano and victrola and records though behind in payments on them. Mother later came to Habits Clinic with Salvatore and Josephine. She thought that Salvatore could have a tonsillectomy at the Habits Clinic. Arrangements were made for same at the HOB. Father was now again working irregularly. On May eleventh Salvatore left home for many hours as he was going to hospital. He was afraid he was going to die under the ether. On May thirteenth the school nurse was asked to cooperate. The latter reported that Giacomina attended the nutrition class but was afraid to eat anything but spaghetti. Giacomina was reported as having artistic ability. On June sixth it was reported that Giacomina was to enter the fifth grade. Josephine now attended school very irregularly because mother said that she liked out of doors in warm weather more than school. Salvatore was still working off the necessary tonsillectomy. Father was working irregularly but there was no OPW aid now. Father and family were now dressed better. Salvatore hoped to work during the summer and earn money for clothes. In September the family moved owing several months rent. Mother was now working at a laundry. The children were in school. The children were in better physical condition according to school report and Salvatore and Giacomina were much more friendly. Mother was earning ten dollars a week and worked so near to home that she could run home and have lunch with children. Mother paid a Polish woman a dollar a week to give half-day care to Josephine when she returned from kindergarten at noon. Salvatore earned enough for new outfit of clothes during summer. Father



working regularly. Rent was now \$15 month. The family's five room tenement was disorderly but clean. Mother and children were well dressed and mother felt that with her earnings and that of Salvatore when he gets a job the family would be adequately provided for.

Father's last record was 1-3-33 Drunk, filed. Salvatore also has quite a record for a boy of twenty:

- 4- 5-26 Malicious mischief-Probation
- 6- 5-34 Larceny-Probation six months
- 6-19-34 Allowing improper person to operate-  
committed to House of Correction to work  
out \$25. fine.

According to the Boston City Hospital record Josephine was tied up with a settlement house. The worker at the house felt that the family situation was one of chronic negligence. Giacomina who was twelve years of age in 1930 had an influence over parents and children and so the settlement worker thought that she would be the best source of influence over the family if she was used as the means of working with the family for improvement of the situation. In the latter part of December of 1934 the writer visited the present home which is on a side street near the City Hospital. Mother was at home and was dressed in shabby black dress. Said that she was suffering with bronchitis for last five years and was constantly ill. Salvatore who was now almost twenty was not working because of his heart trouble and rheumatic fever. It was very hard to understand what the mother said but she finally made herself understood. The writer referred mother to the neighboring health unit and the Catholic Charities for medical care and vocational placement of Salvatore. Giacomina who is now about seventeen years of age was also out of work. She has no trade or special skill. Father was now working at the nearby police station as janitor four days a week. OPW was paying rent for family at least till



working regularly. Rent was now \$15 month. The family's five room tenement was disorderly but clean. Mother and children were well dressed and mother felt that with her earnings and that of Salvatore when he gets a job the family would be adequately provided for.

Father's last record was 1-3-33 Drunk, filed. Salvatore also has quite a record for a boy of twenty:

- 4-5-35 Malicious Mischief-Probation
- 6-3-34 Larceny-Probation six months
- 6-13-34 Allowing improper person to operate committed to House of Correction to work out \$25. fine.

According to the Boston City Hospital record Josephine was tied up with a settlement house. The worker at the house felt that the family situation was one of chronic negligence. Josephine who was twelve years of age in 1930 had an influence over parents and children and so the settlement worker thought that she would be the best source of influence over the family if she was used as the means of working with the family for improvement of the situation. In the latter part of December of 1934 the writer visited the present home which is on a side street near the City Hospital. Mother was at home and was dressed in shabby black dress. Said that she was suffering with bronchitis for last five years and was constantly ill. Salvatore who was now almost twenty was not working because of his heart trouble and rheumatic fever. It was very hard to understand what the mother said but she finally made herself understood. The writer referred mother to the neighboring health unit and the Catholic Charities for medical care and vocational placement of Salvatore. Josephine who is now about seventeen years of age was also out of work. She has no trade or special skill. Father was now working at the nearby police station as janitor four days a week. GIW was paying rent for family at least \$11



December twenty-fourth according to card mother showed. The home was in a very confused condition. Everything was out of place and disorderly. Rooms were large but very poorly cared for. The hallway was absolutely dark in the middle of the day. Mother is a short, hunchbacked, and typical Italian woman. She was very friendly but rather discouraged over the present situation of the family.

Here we have a family that is chronically dependent. The parents have never fully adjusted either to their new surroundings in this country or to their family responsibilities. It is the type of family that will always have to be bolstered up by the help of social agencies both because of low mental intelligence and low social intelligence on the part of its members. Added to all these difficulties we have the depression which makes it almost impossible for the grown children and for the father to get any sort of self-supporting work because of the keen competition in the economic world of this period of crisis and distress. The Society did all that was possible in getting the parents to see that the children must be properly cared for or Society would step in and remove the children from their care until they reformed their ways and mores of child care. In so far as the removal technique succeeded in changing some of the attitudes of these parents the Society fulfilled its function to the highest degree that any social agency could, considering the material that one had to work with.

have unusual relations with his and she before  
this. She had to go to school and when she was home to get his dinner he

#### Case X. A.FAMILY

Irene- fourteen years and four months.

Irene was in danger of carnal abuse in her sister's home because of a tubercular young man in the home. Irene was charged with his care and her honor was put in jeopardy by his constant approaches when she



December twenty-fourth according to card mother showed. The home was in a very confused condition. Everything was out of place and disorderly. Rooms were large but very poorly cared for. The hallway was absolutely dark in the middle of the day. Mother is a short, unattractive, and typical Italian woman. She was very friendly but rather discouraged over the present situation of the family.

Here we have a family that is chronically dependent. The parents have never fully adjusted either to their new surroundings in this country or to their family responsibilities. It is the type of family that will always have to be bolstered up by the help of social agencies both because of low mental intelligence and low social intelligence on the part of its members. Added to all these difficulties we have the depression which makes it almost impossible for the grown children and for the father to get any sort of self-supporting work because of the keen competition in the economic world of this period of crisis and distress. The Society did all that was possible in getting the parents to see that the children must be properly cared for or Society would step in and remove the children from their care until they reformed their ways and modes of child care. In so far as the removal technique succeeded in changing some of the attitudes of these parents the Society fulfilled its function to the highest degree that any social agency could, considering the material that one had to work with.

#### Case X. A. FAMILY

Irene - fourteen years and four months.

Irene was in danger of criminal abuse in her father's home because of a tubercular young man in the home. Irene was charged with his care and her honor was put in jeopardy by his constant approaches when she



served him. She was also mistreated by her sisters who beat her and imposed upon her by putting all the work on her shoulders.

The girl's parents were both Canadian by birth and Protestant by religion. The mother and father were now separated and mother was living with maternal grandparents in Canada and father was living in another city. Irene kept house for her two older and unmarried sisters.

On September 18, 1926 the Chief of Police of the industrial town in which Irene lived asked the agent of the Society to investigate the case of this girl who was witness against young man of thirty who lived in same home. Mr. L. the young man in question was the friend of Irene's older sister M and was now in the last stages of tuberculosis. He had been in a state sanatorium and was sent from there to Tewksbury. From this institution he left without notice to or consent of authorities and went to the A home. According to Irene the family were living in this town for two and a half years. The parents had been separated, and father was living in another city and mother was in Canada. Her father was working in a lumber yard. Irene was living with her sisters M who was twenty-six years old and H who was twenty-four years old. Mr. L was not working and was supported by her sisters. Irene was at this time attending school. Her two sisters were working in the mills. Mr. L was confined to his bed and Irene was made to serve him in his room. The week previous he had tried to persuade her to have immoral relations with him and she refused him as she had once before this. She had to go to school and when she came home to get his dinner he called her names and wanted her to come to his room. Irene therefore left her home and went to neighbor's house in adjoining town. She didn't tell her sisters as they were abusive to her and made her work hard. They were also quarrelsome and made her wash dishes, make beds and get supper. She was now



served him. She was also assisted by her sisters who beat her and in-

posed upon her by putting all the work on her shoulders.

The girl's parents were both Canadian by birth and

Protestant by religion. The mother and father were now separated and mother

was living with maternal grandparents in Canada and father was living in

another city. Irene kept house for her two older and unmarried sisters.

On September 18, 1936 the Chief of Police of the industrial

town in which Irene lived asked the agent of the Society to investigate the

case of this girl who was witness against young man of thirty who lived in

same home. Mr. J. the young man in question was the friend of Irene's

older sister M and was now in the last stages of tuberculosis. He had been

in a state sanatorium and was sent from there to Tennessee. From this in-

stitution he left without notice to or consent of authorities and went to

the A home. According to Irene the family were living in this town for two

and a half years. The parents had been separated, and father was living in

another city and mother was in Canada. Her father was working in a lumber

yard. Irene was living with her sister M who was twenty-six years old and

H who was twenty-four years old. Mr. A was not working and was supported by

her sisters. Irene was at this time attending school. Her two sisters were

working in the mill. Mr. J was confined to his bed and Irene was made to

serve him in his room. The week previous he had tried to persuade her to

have immoral relations with him and she refused him as she had once before

this. She had to go to school and when she came home to get his dinner he

called her names and wanted her to come to his room. Irene therefore left

her home and went to neighbor's house in adjoining town. She didn't tell her

sisters as they were abusive to her and made her work hard. They were also

quarrelsome and made her wash dishes, make beds and get supper. She was now



in the sixth grade.

Her father was now not supporting her and he hadn't seen her since the previous Thanksgiving Day, until the previous week when she went to Boston with Mrs. D. with whom she was staying. Irene said it wouldn't do any good to take father to court about supporting her. Her mother had worked at a State Hospital and for last three years parents had been separated. A brother of nineteen worked in a state sanatorium where two other brothers of twenty and twenty-nine worked as chefs. A brother of thirty was living out in the west and another was married and was living in Nova Scotia. A sister of twenty-three was working as a servant in a home in Boston and another sister was a hairdresser in Boston. Another married sister lived in Boston.

Irene denied that she ever went out at night and said that several men had tried unsuccessfully to assault her. The Chief of Police reported that the sisters with whom Irene lived had whipped her with a trunk strap. Irene said that she was belted last week for forgetting to do some housework. Denied sisters' complaint that she was going out with a young man.

In the court Mr. L's case for rape was continued. He looked to be in last stages of his disease. Irene was asked to repeat exactly what he had said to her. The Board of Health inspector reported that Mr. L was once out when he visited and thus is not confined wholly to bed. Judge said that though sisters were good hard working girls all would be better if Mr. L left household. Irene was to attend school and was to return to home of foster mother Mrs. D. Irene's sister H became hysterical in the court room and made a scene. Irene's married sister's husband said that most of the trouble was caused by the father's lack of support.



in the sixth grade.

Her father was now not supporting her and he hadn't seen her since the previous Thanksgiving Day, until the previous week when she went to Boston with Mrs. D. with whom she was staying. Irene said it wouldn't do any good to take father to court about supporting her. Her mother had worked at a State Hospital and for last three years parents had been separated. A brother of nineteen worked in a state sanatorium where two other brothers of twenty and twenty-nine worked as chefs. A brother of thirty was living out in the west and another was married and was living in Nova Scotia. A sister of twenty-three was working as a servant in a home in Boston and another sister was a hairdresser in Boston. Another married sister lived in Boston.

Irene denied that she ever went out at night and said that several men had tried unsuccessfully to assault her. The Chief of Police reported that the sisters with whom Irene lived had whipped her with a trunk strap. Irene said that she was beaten last week for forgetting to do some housework. Denied sisters' complaint that she was going out with a young man.

In the court Mr. D.'s case for rape was continued. He looked to be in last stages of his disease. Irene was asked to repeat exactly what he had said to her. The Board of Health Inspector reported that Mr. D. was once out when he visited and that he not confined wholly to bed. Judge said that though sisters were good hard working girls all would be better if Mr. D. left household. Irene was to attend school and was to return to home of foster mother Mrs. D. Irene's sister H became hysterical in the court room and made a scene. Irene's married sister's husband said that most of the trouble was caused by the father's lack of support.



On September twenty-first father gave permission to take Irene to the Temporary Home of the Society where Irene was examined by the Society's doctor. On September twenty-fifth father reported that he was separated from mother for five years and that he was married thirty-four years ago. He was now in the lumber business and said that his marriage was a forced one. He also intimated that mother was quick-tempered and went around with other men. Mother had a \$1000 when they separated. Said that he heard of condition of family and knew that Mr. L was in the home. Said that he was a good for nothing person and was against mother's determination to have him in the home. Father was now earning twenty dollars a week. Said that he had no money since he was ill last winter and spent all money on this illness. Pays four dollars a week for his room and gets his meals in same home. Used to drink but doesn't do so now. Said that he could pay five dollars a week for support of Irene. Father seemed to be peculiar person and somewhat deaf. Also was careless in appearance. Attended a colored "holy roller" church in Boston because he liked the preaching and teaching given therein. Said that Irene did not want to go to home of maternal grandmother because it was lonely and far away from school. He said that Irene was anxious to return to home of Mrs. D and that only objection he had was that they were Roman Catholic. However agreed to this arrangement and supervisor advised return of Irene to Mrs. D because she was missing her school work.

On September twenty-fourth Mrs. D reported that she was ready to keep Irene as she was well behaved if father would pay her board which he had previously promised to send. Mrs. D appeared to be a very poor woman who had to care for own children, but seemed to be a good woman. Said that Irene was rather sophisticated about sex matters and told her of con-



On September twenty-first father gave permission to take Irene to the Temporary Home of the Society where Irene was examined by the Society's doctor. On September twenty-fifth father reported that he was separated from mother for five years and that he was married thirty-four years ago. He was now in the lumber business and said that his marriage was a forced one. He also intimated that mother was quick-tempered and went around with other men. Mother had a \$1000 when they separated. Said that he heard of condition of family and knew that Mr. I was in the home. Said that he was a good for nothing person and was against mother's determination to have him in the home. Father was now earning twenty dollars a week. Said that he had no money since he was ill last winter and spent all money on this illness. Pays four dollars a week for his room and gets his meals in same home. Used to drink but doesn't do so now. Said that he could pay five dollars a week for support of Irene. Father seemed to be peculiar person and somewhat deaf. Also was careless in appearance. Attended a colored "holy roller" church in Boston because he liked the preaching and teaching given therein. Said that Irene did not want to go to home of maternal grandparents because it was lonely and far away from school. He said that Irene was anxious to return to home of Mrs. D and that only objection he had was that they were Roman Catholic. However agreed to this arrangement and suggested advised return of Irene to Mrs. D because she was missing her school work.

On September twenty-fourth Mrs. D reported that she was ready to keep Irene as she was well behaved if father would pay her board which he had previously promised to send. Mrs. D appeared to be a very poor woman who had to care for own children, but seemed to be a good woman. Said that Irene was rather sophisticated about sex matters and told her of con-



versation she overheard between sisters and said that one of them went around with men. On the whole, Irene seemed to be well-informed on this subject. Mr. L was still at home despite Judge's warning and advice.

At school teacher reported that Irene had just registered and was not able to keep up as she came from a poorly graded country school. On September twenty-ninth Irene attended the Eye and Ear Infirmary of the MGH and October second the case against Mr. L was dismissed.

In October Irene's married sister reported that Irene was dissatisfied at Mrs. D's and that Irene had a chance to go to Nova Scotia to maternal grandmother's home. Mrs. D wouldn't allow her to go without agent's permission. However the Chief of Police advised against this as Irene did not want to go. On October fifteenth Irene said that she was willing to go as Mrs. D couldn't keep her without pay. Irene also had a chance to go to the home of one of the school authorities. She was now in fifth grade as she couldn't do sixth grade work. Mrs. D said that she couldn't keep Irene free of charge. Reported that Mr. L was still in the home and that sisters defended right to do as they pleased.

On October fifteenth agent met father going to a church conference in a suburb of Boston. Father reported that he had paid five dollars to Mrs. D and that Irene was not to go to Nova Scotia. On January 11, 1927 the Board of Health inspector reported that Mr. L had left for Nova Scotia and case was dismissed. On March ninth a neighbor reported that Mrs. D was working in a straw hat shop and that Irene was neglecting her school work. Irene was said to be a very well-behaved child. At school it was reported that she had been absent twenty-two and a half days. She was considered to be doing well considering her lack of opportunity and to be doing better than Mrs. D's own children. Irene looked well and face had



version she overheard between sisters and said that one of them went around with men. On the whole, Irene seemed to be well-informed on this subject. Mr. D was still at home despite Judge's warning and advice.

At school teacher reported that Irene had just registered and was not able to keep up as she came from a poorly graded country school. On September twenty-ninth Irene attended the Nye and Ear Infirmary of the NCH and October second the case against Mr. D was dismissed.

In October Irene's married sister reported that Irene was dissatisfied at Mrs. D's and that Irene had a chance to go to Nova Scotia to maternal grandmother's home. Mrs. D wouldn't allow her to go without agent's permission. However the Chief of Police advised against this as Irene did not want to go. On October fifteenth Irene said that she was willing to go as Mrs. D couldn't keep her without pay. Irene also had a chance to go to the home of one of the school authorities. She was now in fifth grade as she couldn't do sixth grade work. Mrs. D said that she couldn't keep Irene free of charge. Reported that Mr. D was still in the home and that sisters defended right to do as they pleased.

On October fifteenth agent met father going to a church conference in a suburb of Boston. Father reported that he had paid five dollars to Mrs. D and that Irene was not to go to Nova Scotia. On January 11, 1937 the Board of Health inspector reported that Mr. D had left for Nova Scotia and case was dismissed. On March ninth a neighbor reported that Mrs. D was working in a straw hat shop and that Irene was neglecting her school work. Irene was said to be a very well-behaved child. At school it was reported that she had been absent twenty-two and a half days. She was considered to be doing well considering her lack of opportunity and to be doing better than Mrs. D's own children. Irene looked well and case had



cleared of pimples. She seemed to be happy and said that she had a good home. Said that Mrs. D was working and that most of her own absences were caused by a cold. Father was now fairly regular in his payments to Mrs. D and at Christmas gave her five dollars. Mother was still in Nova Scotia. Mr. L had, in the meanwhile, died. Sister came to see her and bothered her. Agent felt that Irene was shielding Mrs. D. Irene was very grateful to agent for clothes sent her at Christmas. She attended the Congregational Church regularly.

On April thirtieth the Chief of Police reported that Irene was out of school and thought that she shouldn't remain longer with Mrs. D. Asked agent to investigate the situation. On May fourth Mr. and Mrs. D were having dinner with children. The house was very untidy and Mrs. D and the children were not clean. Mrs. D was working in straw hat factory for last two weeks. Said that Irene was not out of school to look after children. Said that father never paid anything and wrote that he wouldn't be forced to do so. At Christmas he sent Mrs. D thirty dollars and Mrs. D bought a coat, hat, and underwear for Irene. Later father sent five dollars for shoes for Irene and she also bought her rubbers. Irene's sisters had been over to the house and had been very insulting. Mrs. D thought that mother was not very good woman. Irene was working for a Mrs. R who recently had a baby. Helps with the housework and works there all day Saturday. For this she received two dollars and fifty cents a week.

Irene came home and looked fairly well. Said that she was cooking, making beds and doing some of Mrs. R's washing. However doesn't do the latter when Mrs. R was up and around. Irene showed agent letter from father in which he apologized for writing too affectionately to Mrs. D

Mrs. D made one visit to father alone and he acted too



cleared of pimples. She seemed to be happy and said that she had a good home. Said that Mrs. D was working and that most of her own expenses were caused by a cold. Father was now fairly regular in his payments to Mrs. D and at Christmas gave her five dollars. Mother was still in Nova Scotia. Mr. D had, in the meanwhile, died. Sister came to see her and bothered her. Agent felt that Irene was shielding Mrs. D. Irene was very grateful to agent for clothes sent her at Christmas. She attended the Congregational Church regularly.

On April thirtieth the Chief of Police reported that Irene was out of school and thought that she shouldn't remain longer with Mrs. D. Asked agent to investigate the situation. On May fourth Mr. and Mrs. D were having dinner with children. The house was very untidy and Mrs. D and the children were not clean. Mrs. D was working in straw hat factory for last two weeks. Said that Irene was not out of school to look after children. Said that father never paid anything and wrote that he wouldn't be forced to do so. At Christmas he sent Mrs. D thirty dollars and Mrs. D bought a coat, hat, and underwear for Irene. Later father sent five dollars for shoes for Irene and she also bought her ribbons. Irene's sisters had been over to the house and had been very insulting. Mrs. D thought that mother was not very good woman. Irene was working for a Mrs. R who recently had a baby. Helped with the housework and works there all day Saturday. For this she received two dollars and fifty cents a week. Irene came home and looked fairly well. Said that she was cooking, making beds and doing some of Mrs. R's washing. However doesn't do the latter when Mrs. R was up and around. Irene showed agent letter from father in which he apologized for writing too affectionately to Mrs. D. Mrs. D made one visit to father alone and he asked too



familiarly. Mrs. D doesn't trust father. Irene was recently baptized in the Catholic Church. Mrs. D disclaimed any pressure on her part in bringing this about. Irene upheld Mrs. D in this. Irene when alone with agent said that she was fond of the D family and wanted to be with them. Said that Mrs. D was working at the factory for two months. Irene also said that a Mrs. F and not Mrs. D had bought dresses for her. Irene's work in school was fair. On May tenth father said in court that he was too poor to support Irene. The court however ordered him to pay five dollars a week and he was found guilty of non-support of minor child. His case was continued till December of 1927. Irene was to remain with Mrs. D till agent could ascertain whether mother would return to town of ..... and care for Irene. Also because of father's complaints it was ordered that Irene attend the church to which her parents belonged. On May twentieth the Judge reported that mother might return in which case Irene was to go to live with her.

On June twenty-fourth Irene was living with mother. Family were now in a comfortable home which had several acres of ground, some of which were under cultivation. Mother seemed to be a respectable looking woman. Mother reported that as soon as she heard of conditions here she left for home. Seemed to be an easy-going woman. Home was very clean and well furnished. Irene was looking well. Mother denied father's accusations and said that she and the girls were trying to pay for the house. Irene was now very happy and didn't go anymore to home of Mrs. D. Was hoping to get work for the summer. Will however return to school in the fall.

The Judge now asked agent to report to immigration officials as to father's possible mental condition. Also the Judge decided to try to force the father to support Irene. On July second case against



familiarily. Mrs. D. Rosen's first father. Irene was recently baptized in the Catholic Church. Mrs. D. disclaimed any pressure on her part in bringing this about. Irene replied Mrs. D. in this. Irene when alone with agent said that she was fond of the D family and wanted to be with them. Said that Mrs. D was working at the factory for two months. Irene also said that a Mrs. F and not Mrs. D had bought dresses for her. Irene's work in school was fair. On May tenth father said in court that he was too poor to support Irene. The court however ordered him to pay five dollars a week and he was found guilty of non-support of minor child. His case was continued till December of 1937. Irene was to remain with Mrs. D till agent could ascertain whether mother would return to town of ..... and care for Irene. Also because of father's complaints it was ordered that Irene attend the church to which her parents belonged. On May twentieth the judge reported that mother might return in which case Irene was to go to live with her.

On June twenty-fourth Irene was living with mother. Family were now in a comfortable home which had several acres of ground, some of which were under cultivation. Mother seemed to be a respectable looking woman. Mother reported that as soon as she heard of conditions here she left for home. Seemed to be an easy-going woman. Home was very clean and well furnished. Irene was looking well. Mother denied father's suggestions and said that she and the girls were trying to pay for the house. Irene was now very happy and didn't go anymore to home of Mrs. D. Was hoping to get work for the summer. Will however return to school in the fall.

The judge now asked agent to report to Immigration officials as to father's possible mental condition. Also the judge decided to try to force the father to support Irene. On July second case against



Irene was filed. Father was not supporting and had defaulted on probation. On July eighteenth the Assistant-Commissioner of Immigration decided that all that could be done was to commit father to an institution and if found to be insane at time of arrival in this country he could do something. Otherwise nothing could be done about deporting him since he was in this country over five years.

On April 10, 1928 it was reported that father was having immoral relations with two minor children E. and R. both cases of the Society. These children were given money by father for having relations with him. Father reported that he was attending a rescue mission and that he had committed similar acts with his own children and that since he had the power of priestly absolution, he could not sin and absolved children of sin. Therefore he could do as he pleased.

On April twelfth father in court. Two complaints of carnal abuse were lodged against him on minor children R. and E. and also a complaint of indecent assault and battery on E. was made against him.

On April thirteenth father was arraigned on two complaints of carnal abuse and one of indecent assault and battery. On the twentieth the evidence presented caused the court to find probable cause and father was held in \$5000 for Grand Jury. The Grand Jury returned a true bill against father on all charges. On May twenty-second the Judge ordered father committed to Psychopathic Hospital for observation. Father's defense was on ground that he was impotent since he had had an operation for some disease of the reproductive system. On June seventh the psychiatrists reported that father was as follows: "Patient's attitude and manner is unusual. Talks freely in rather exalted tone. Expresses a great many religious ideas having to do with his own spiritual importance. Believes



Irene was killed. Father was not supporting and had defaulted on probation. On July eighteenth the Assistant-Commissioner of Immigration decided that all that could be done was to commit Father to an institution and if found to be insane at time of arrival in this country he could do something. Otherwise nothing could be done about deporting him since he was in this country over five years.

On April 10, 1933 it was reported that Father was having

immoral relations with two minor children E. and F. Both cases of the Society. These children were given money by Father for having relations with him. Father reported that he was attending a rescue mission and that he had committed similar acts with his own children and that since he had the power of priestly absolution, he could not sin and absolved children of sin. Therefore he could do as he pleased.

On April twelfth Father in court. Two complaints of carnal

abuse were lodged against him on minor children E. and F. and also a complaint of indecent assault and battery on E. was made against him.

On April thirteenth Father was arraigned on two complaints

of carnal abuse and one of indecent assault and battery. On the twentieth the evidence presented caused the court to find probable cause and Father

was held in \$5000 for Grand Jury. The Grand Jury returned a True Bill

against Father on all charges. On May twenty-second the Judge ordered

Father committed to Psychopathic Hospital for observation. Father's defense

was on ground that he was innocent since he had had an operation for some

disease of the reproductive system. On June seventh the psychiatrist re-

ported that Father was as follows: "Patient's attitude and manner is un-

usual. Talks freely in rather exalted tone. Expresses a great many re-

ligious ideas having to do with his own spiritual importance. Believes



that he is under the direct instructions of God. Has mild sense of justice of other religious beliefs than his own. Patient reported by jail officer as on his knees great deal of the time and conduct attracted attention as unusual. Needs thorough study at hospital as religious eccentric." Committed to Boston State Hospital for observation. On September fourth the clerk of court reported that father was considered as being insane by the Superintendent of the Hospital. On July ninth father was examined by the court alienist and was considered to be insane and the court committed him to the Boston State Hospital till returned as sane when he was to go to jail.

On May 24, 1931 father was released from the State Hospital and was put on trial for carnal abuse. Father had another mental examination and on May twenty-seventh the court alienist found father sane and father pleaded guilty to entire indictment of six counts of carnal abuse and indecent assault. Father was sent to State Prison for term of five to ten years. On August 21, 1934 father was at State Farm. He was now considered mildly insane and had a bad heart and kidney trouble. He should according to the State Prison records be transferred to a civil hospital and it was thought that he should not be paroled. He was transferred from the State Prison on December 9, 1931. He is now also senile.

In this case the Society by intervening at the request of the court and by watching the girl involved while she was under inadequate supervision probably saved her from being raped and from perhaps even becoming immoral. After Irene was tided over the difficult period when her mother was away she was again restored to the supervision of her mother and now for about eight years there have been no further complaints nor any record of delinquency for any of the family except the father who was and is insane and is thus irresponsible. In this connection, the Society by its



that he is under the direct inspiration of God. His wife seems of justice of other religious beliefs than his own. Patient reported by jail officer as on his knees great deal of the time and conduct attracted attention as unusual. Needs thorough study at hospital as religious eccentric. "Commit- ted to Boston State Hospital for observation. On September fourth the clerk of court reported that father was considered as being insane by the Superintendent of the Hospital. On July ninth father was examined by the court alienist and was considered to be insane and the court committed him to the Boston State Hospital till returned as sane when he was to go to jail. On May 24, 1931 father was released from the State Hospital and was put on trial for carnal abuse. Father had another mental examination and on May twenty-seventh the court alienist found father sane and father pleaded guilty to entire indictment of six counts of carnal abuse and indecent assault. Father was sent to State Prison for term of five to ten years. On August 21, 1934 father was at State Prison. He was now considered mildly insane and had a bad heart and kidney trouble. He should according to the State Prison records be transferred to a civil hospital and it was thought that he should not be paroled. He was transferred from the State Prison on December 9, 1931. He is now also sane. In this case the Society by intervening at the request of the court and by watching the girl involved while she was under inadequate supervision probably saved her from being raped and from perhaps even becoming immoral. After Irene was lifted over the difficult period when her mother was away she was again restored to the supervision of her mother and now for about eight years there have been no further complaints nor any record of delinquency for any of the family except the father who was and is insane and is thus irresponsible. In this connection, the Society by its



action also probably safeguarded Irene from possible harm from her insane father. Most of the family difficulties root back probably to the father's unrecognized insanity and consequent misbehavior and inability to get along with his wife. On the whole, it is apparent that the Society served a very creditable purpose in safeguarding the interests of this unsupervised, young adolescent girl.

---

#### Case XI. K.FAMILY

Annette- about twelve years; Julia- about ten years; Arthur- about eight years; Frank- about five years; Jannette- about three years.

At the time of referral the mother was very intemperate and was selling liquor in home in violation of the prohibition laws. There was also some question of immorality of mother's behavior. Both parents in this family were American born and were natives of Boston. The father was a leather worker. The family was Roman Catholic by religion.

On March 26, 1926 two police officers complained that parents were separated and that father's whereabouts were unknown. The mother was very intemperate and had disreputable visitors in home. Police officers felt that they had enough evidence to take action against mother, but hesitated to do so because of children. Mother had been before the Municipal Court in the past. The home and the children were very dirty. The officers reported that the day officer on the beat also knew the conditions in the home. The police officers advised that if woman agent were assigned the case, she should not go to home without the protection of an officer. On March thirtieth agent found mother in bed. Jannette and Marie were in the room with mother and the house as a whole was very untidy. The other children were at the home of the maternal grandmother and had been



action also probably safeguarded them from her insane father. Most of the family difficulties root back probably to the father's unrecoginized insanity and consequent misbehavior and inability to get along with his wife. On the whole, it is apparent that the Society served a very creditable purpose in safeguarding the interests of this unsupervised, young adolescent girl.

#### Case XI. E. FAMILY

Annette - about twelve years; Julia - about ten years; Alexis - about eight years; Frank - about five years; Jannette - about three years.

At the time of referral the mother was very intemperate and was selling liquor in home in violation of the prohibition laws. There was also some question of immorality of mother's behavior. Both parents in this family were American born and were natives of Boston. The father was a leather worker. The family was Roman Catholic by religion.

On March 28, 1928 two police officers complained that parents were separated and that father's whereabouts were unknown. The mother was very intemperate and had disreputable visitors in home. Police officers felt that they had enough evidence to take action against mother, but hesitated to do so because of children. Mother had been before the Municipal Court in the past. The home and the children were very dirty. The officers reported that the day officer on the beat also knew the conditions in the home. The police officers advised that if woman agent were assigned the case, she should not go to home without the protection of an officer. On March thirtieth agent found mother in bed. Jannette and Marie were in the room with mother and the house as a whole was very untidy. The other children were at the home of the maternal grandmother and had been



there since father deserted four months ago. According to mother, a warrant had been issued for his arrest. Maternal uncle with whom family is living is paying rent. Mother said that father used to come home and beat her. Also he refused to support her. Mother said that she was arrested because she "sassed" officers. Mother said that police came to her home quite often without just cause. Both children who were at home appeared to be healthy and clean. A neighbor Mrs. S reported that children were not neglected physically but that mother was immoral. She complained of mother's drinking parties and said that they were real wild parties. Mother was often drunk but did not abuse children. Neighbor praised father and said that he left home because of mother's friends and drinking. Another neighbor reported that all was well now. Another reported that all had been quiet for two weeks. At home of maternal aunt, Mrs. J.N. who was boarding four of the children. Said that she owned her own home and that maternal grandfather was the janitor. Frank seemed to be well. Home was clean and neat and maternal aunt and maternal grandfather appeared to be respectable people. Maternal aunt reported that father didn't work and that he beat mother. Julia's teacher reported her to be healthy but dirty most of the time and apparently neglected. However when agent met her she was dressed neatly. The other children were reported to be neat and clean. The day officer on beat where mother was living reported that on January third he ordered five men out of mother's room. All were drunk. Mother was drunk, had a black eye and used vile language. On March thirty-first agent told police that two youngest children with mother were too young to make a case on the grounds of moral neglect. Also children were not sufficiently neglected to warrant action.

On April fifth maternal grandfather reported that mother



On April fifth maternal grandfather reported that mother sufficiently neglected to warrant action.

make a case on the grounds of moral neglect. Also children were not

agent told police that two youngest children with mother were too young to was drunk, had a black eye and used vile language. On March thirty-first child he ordered five men out of mother's room. All were drunk. Mother The day officer on post where mother was living reported that on January

was dressed neatly. The other children were reported to be neat and clean. most of the time and apparently neglected. However when agent met her she that he beat mother. Julia's teacher reported her to be healthy and dirty respectable people. Maternal aunt reported that father didn't work and

clean and neat and maternal aunt and maternal grandfather appeared to be maternal grandfather was the janitor. Frank seemed to be well. Home was boarding four of the children. Said that she owned her own home and that been quiet for two weeks. At home of maternal aunt, Mrs. J. H. who was

neighbor reported that all was well now. Another reported that all had said that he left home because of mother's friends and drinking. Another was often drunk but did not abuse children. Neighbor praised father and mother's drinking parties and said that they were real wild parties. Mother neglected physically but that mother was immoral. The complaint of

be healthy and clean. A neighbor Mrs. S reported that children were not quite often without just cause. Both children who were at home appeared to because she "assaulted" officers. Mother said that police came to her home her. Also he refused to support her. Mother said that she was arrested

living in paying rent. Mother said that father used to come home and beat warrant had been issued for his arrest. Maternal uncle with whom family is there since father deserted four months ago. According to mother, a



had not moved yet. On May fifth mother's probation officer reported that mother broke her probation and would be surrendered. On May eleventh the probation officer reported mother not surrendered in order to allow police to gather evidence. On June twenty-fourth maternal aunt reported that mother placed children with her. On June twenty-fifth mother was before the Municipal Court for exposing and keeping liquor. On July first mother was fined fifty dollars and given one month sentence. Both sentences were suspended until October twenty-sixth. Mother was ordered to move in three weeks. Probation violation was filed.

On July ninth mother was still at same address. Man was living with her and mother had Marie with her. Maternal aunt later lied and said that Marie was with her despite the fact that agent had seen her with mother. On July tenth mother was warned that all children must live with maternal aunt or neglect warrant would be issued. Mother agreed to cease having children visit her. The man who had been arrested with her was in the home at this time. On August sixteenth agent visited at new apartment and met same man again. This man refused to allow agent to enter and came into the hallway. Agent heard the voices of several women and man said that they were his visitors. Said that mother was at home of maternal aunt. Marie died on previous week while on her way to town of W.. Man denied that children were with mother but admitted mother's intemperance. At home of maternal aunt stranger informed agent that Marie had died at this address and that all children were with the maternal aunt. On August seventeenth agent was again not admitted to mother's apartment though agent heard voice of man, woman, and child. Maternal aunt said that she couldn't understand this since all children were with her. Said that mother was not drinking. On August twenty-fifth the children were arraigned as neglected



had not moved yet. On May fifth mother's probation officer reported that mother broke her probation and would be surrendered. On May eleventh the probation officer reported mother not surrendered in order to allow police to gather evidence. On June twenty-fourth maternal aunt reported that mother placed children with her. On June twenty-fifth mother was before the Municipal Court for exposing and keeping liquor. On July first mother was fined fifty dollars and given one month sentence. Both sentences were suspended until October twenty-sixth. Mother was ordered to move in three weeks. Probation violation was filed.

On July ninth mother was still at same address. Man was living with her and mother had Marie with her. Maternal aunt later lied and said that Marie was with her despite the fact that agent had seen her with mother. On July tenth mother was warned that all children must live with maternal aunt or neglect warrant would be issued. Mother agreed to cases having children visit her. The man who had been arrested with her was in the home at this time. On August nineteenth agent visited at new apartment and met same man again. This man refused to allow agent to enter and came into the hallway. Agent heard the voices of several women and man said that they were his visitors. Said that mother was at home at maternal aunt. Marie died on previous week while on her way to town of W. Man denied that children were with mother but admitted mother's interference. At home of maternal aunt stranger informed agent that Marie had died at this address and that all children were with the maternal aunt. On August seventeenth agent was again not admitted to mother's apartment though agent heard voice of man, woman, and child. Maternal aunt said that she couldn't understand this since all children were with her. Said that mother was not drinking. On August twenty-fifth the children were assigned as neglected



and were placed in the care and custody of maternal aunt as long as agent considered her to be a proper guardian. Mother was in jail till September twenty-fourth. On October first mother reported that father was at certain address in Boston and that she was going to press a charge of non-support.

On January 17, 1927 mother was reported to be living with maternal aunt and to be working. Maternal aunt was unwell. Children were well and all but Frank and Jannette were in school. Home was in good order. On February eleventh mother stated that she had been forced to sell liquor because father had deserted and she had five children to support. Maternal aunt said that mother was not a loose woman and that she was a good mother. Father was always abusive. Mother had been married fourteen years and had had eleven children, six of whom had died and she was only thirty-two years of age at this time. Maternal aunt said that she had no idea where father was. Children were well and doing well in school. Home was in good condition. Mother planned to remain with maternal aunt even after regaining custody of children, until she can afford her own home. On March twenty-third mother was unsuccessful in looking for work. Was very anxious that agent investigate her fitness for regaining custody of her children. Father was still unlocated. Mother had same plans for future as maternal aunt had outlined. Teacher reported that Annette was doing well in the seventh grade. Julia was doing well in the fifth grade and took the prize for posture in the preceding month. Arthur was reported as being a slow worker but likable. Not as clean as he should be. All the children were clean except Arthur whose clothes were shabby. However he was a clean-looking upright little fellow. Maternal aunt's last record was in 1922 when she was put on probation for selling liquor. On March twenty-ninth mother agreed to come to court. Said that father had sent \$15 for Christmas, but mother



and were placed in the care and custody of maternal aunt as long as agent considered her to be a proper guardian. Mother was in jail till September twenty-fourth. On October first mother reported that father was at certain address in Boston and that she was going to press a charge of non-support. On January 17, 1927 mother was reported to be living with maternal aunt and to be working. Maternal aunt was unwell. Children were well and all but Frank and Lorraine were in school. Home was in good order. On February eleventh mother stated that she had been forced to sell liquor because father had deserted and she had five children to support. Maternal aunt said that mother was not a loose woman and that she was a good mother. Father was always abusive. Mother had been married fourteen years and had had eleven children, six of whom had died and she was only thirty-two years of age at this time. Maternal aunt said that she had no idea where father was. Children were well and doing well in school. Home was in good condition. Mother planned to remain with maternal aunt even after regaining custody of children, until she can afford her own home. On March twenty-third mother was unsuccessful in looking for work. Was very anxious that agent investigate her fitness for regaining custody of her children. Father was still unlocated. Mother had some plans for future as maternal aunt had outlined. Teacher reported that Annette was doing well in the seventh grade. Julia was doing well in the fifth grade and took the prize for picture in the preceding month. Arthur was reported as being a slow worker but likable. Not as clean as he should be. All the children were clean except Arthur whose clothes were shabby. However he was a clean-looking upright little fellow. Maternal aunt's last record was in 1923 when she was put on probation for selling liquor. On March twenty-ninth mother agreed to come to court. Said that father had sent \$15 for Christmas, but mother



didn't want to live with father again. On March thirtieth father was located through a lunch room owner but was not found. Informant reported that father wanted to return and thought that mother was equally to blame for family trouble.

On April first the children were returned to the care and custody of mother. On September tenth mother was still living with maternal aunt. Maternal uncle who worked in city of W.... sent mother between fifteen and twenty dollars a week for the support of herself and the children. Mother assisted with housework and maternal grandfather reported that they were willing to keep children. Mother realized that she was imposing on maternal relatives and on insistence of agent promised to go to work. Agent told mother that she didn't have to do so till she saw the Judge. Mother neither knew where father was, nor did she want to live with him again. He was still not supporting. Said she was neither drinking nor selling liquor. Mother now appeared to be well and seemed to be trying to do right by children. On October seventh the case of neglect was filed. On February 14, 1928 mother was again in court for idle and disorderly conduct and mother's probation officer again was inquiring about the status of the case. Father's last record is on January 4, 1923 for exposing and keeping liquor, and his case was discharged at the time. Mother has a much longer record than father. It runs somewhat as follows:

long record beginning 1-5-22, violation of liquor law and continuing thus, largely on drunkenness charges and idle and disorderly till

2-14-28	Idle and disorderly, three months in jail, appealed
10-10-28	" " " , probation, filed 10-23-29
3- 8-30	Drunk , ss to State Farm
8-26-31	Exposing and Keeping, two months jail sus. sentence
8-26-31	Illegal sale of liquor, \$50 and two months jail sus.
2-12-34	Drunk







Thus we see that despite all of mother's protestations to the contrary she doesn't seem to be able to keep out of trouble and is more of legal problem than the father. One however cannot say whether this is so in the last analysis because one doesn't know what has made an alcoholic of the mother or what part the father and his desertion has played in her becoming alcoholic, or whether she was the cause of the father's desertion. On this point the case is entirely too obscure and it would be interesting to follow up if one had the opportunity to do so. As the case now stands the children are apparently doing well. None of them have any record at the Massachusetts Commission of Probation, and there have been no further contacts of the family with any social agency that registers with the social index. Probably mother's drinking is due to the fact that she is a chronic alcoholic and nothing much can be done for her. As far as the Society's contacts with the family are concerned I should say that they were successful in remedying the situation for which they were called in to render service in protecting the children. The Society forced the mother to give up her questionable companions and thus saved the children from possible moral neglect from this situation. Unfortunately the Society is not in the position to treat the family further unless the case is reopened through further complaints and thus further investigations into the present situation as revealed through the mother's criminal record cannot be further studied or treated.

#### Case XII. R. FAMILY

Mary- about fifteen years; Elizabeth- about twelve years.

Father had mother committed to a hospital for incurables and never went to see her. By his miserliness and domineering attitudes



Thus we see that despite all of mother's protestations to the contrary she doesn't seem to be able to keep out of trouble and is more of legal problem than the father. One however cannot say whether this is so in the last analysis because one doesn't know what has made an alcoholic of the mother or what part the father and his reaction has played in her becoming alcoholic, or whether she was the cause of the father's deterioration. On this point the case is entirely too obscure and it would be interesting to follow up if one had the opportunity to do so. As the case now stands the children are apparently doing well. None of them have any record at the Massachusetts Commission of Probation, and there have been no further contacts of the family with any social agency that registers with the social index. Probably mother's drinking is due to the fact that she is a chronic alcoholic and nothing much can be done for her. As far as the Society's contacts with the family are concerned I should say that they were unsuccessful in remedying the situation for which they were called in to render service in protecting the children. The Society forced the mother to give up her questionable companions and thus saved the children from possible moral neglect from this situation. Unfortunately the Society is not in the position to treat the family further unless the case is reopened through further complaints and thus further investigations into the present situation or revealed through the mother's criminal record cannot be further studied or treated.

Case XII. E. FAMILY  
Mary - about fifteen years; Elizabeth - about twelve years.  
Father had mother committed to a hospital for incurable and never went to see her. By his miserliness and dominating attitude



he made life miserable for all the children in the family. Children lived in fear of him. The parents were Irish by birth and Roman Catholic by religion. Father worked as a teamster at twenty-two dollars a week. In the home there was also an aged paternal grandmother.

On November 22, 1921 the children in the family were reported to be neglected by a special investigator for the Child Welfare League of America. On December twelfth agent found father, James, Mary and Elizabeth at home having lunch. Father denied that he was neglecting children or his home. Said that he was not working steadily but that when he did he made about twenty-two dollars as a teamster. Mother was a paralytic and was in the Long Island Hospital. Said that pediculosis in Elizabeth's head had been cured by doctor. Said that he was doing his best and that he couldn't be blamed for conditions in the home. Children were fairly well-clad and looked healthy. House was in good condition in comparison with other homes in the neighborhood. The kitchen was clean and there was a fire in the stove. Father said that John slept on the couch which was in the kitchen. Father and James slept in one room, Mary and Elizabeth in another, and paternal grandmother in another. The backyard was filled with junk. Father promised to keep the home clean and do his best. On December the school principal reported that children had been attended to.

On July 19, 1922 a neighbor reported that family had been put out, William was in the navy and the other four children were in the home. Mother is an invalid and had been in the Long Island Hospital for three years. After Elizabeth's birth, mother suffered from rheumatism and her feet were operated on. After Rose's birth she lost the use of her body. Father never went to see her, nor did he send the children to see her. Informant often went to see mother and brought her different things. Father



he made life miserable for all the children in the family. Children lived in fear of him. The parents were Irish by birth and Roman Catholic by religion. Father worked as a teamster at twenty-two dollars a week. In the home there was also an aged paternal grandmother.

On November 22, 1931 the children in the family were reported to be neglected by a special investigator for the Child Welfare League of America. On December twelfth agent found father, James, Mary and Elizabeth at home having lunch. Father denied that he was neglecting children or his home. Said that he was not working steadily but that when he did he made about twenty-two dollars as a teamster. Mother was a paralytic and was in the Long Island Hospital. Said that pediculosis in Elizabeth's head had been cured by doctor. Said that he was doing his best and that he couldn't be blamed for conditions in the home. Children were fairly well-clad and looked healthy. Home was in good condition in comparison with other homes in the neighborhood. The kitchen was clean and there was a fire in the stove. Father said that John slept on the couch which was in the kitchen. Father and James slept in one room, Mary and Elizabeth in another, and paternal grandmother in another. The bedroom was filled with junk. Father promised to keep the home clean and do his best. On December the school principal reported that children had been attended to.

On July 19, 1932 a neighbor reported that family had been put out. William was in the navy and the other four children were in the home. Mother is an invalid and had been in the Long Island Hospital for three years. After Elizabeth's birth, mother suffered from rheumatism and her feet were operated on. After Rose's birth she lost the use of her body. Father never went to see her, nor did he send the children to see her. In-formation often went to see mother and brought her different things. Father



didn't work much and depended on William's earning's mostly. Paternal grandmother has been at the Long Island Hospital since February or March. Since she had gone there was no one to care for Mary or Elizabeth. James went to work for the first time today. John worked as teamster. Father worked as teamster occasionally, but preferred to live on money he had saved. James got cooked food at the neighboring Catholic Church for his grandmother but father used it all for himself and for the children. Mary and Elizabeth were spending all their time on the streets. Father usually managed to get hurt when he worked in order to get financial aid. Bought a farm a year ago but sold it. William recently came home for two nights and reported that the beds were so dirty that he couldn't stand them. Matter was reported to priests of the parish but nothing was done about it. William was supposed to send half of his pay check to mother, but John reported that father received thirty to forty dollars a month from William. Informant said that father should either be made to keep a housekeeper for care of the home and the girls or else they should be placed out.

On July twenty-fifth another neighbor reported a similar tale and said that girls were out on Saturday night till ten forty-five p.m. because they were afraid to be in house by themselves. Father bought home they now occupy and repaired it somewhat. Father stated that he was capable of caring for children. Father had taught girls housework and Mary was able to bake bread and cook. Neighbors were making complaints because girls didn't wear starched dresses but said he clothes them according to his means. Children go to school regularly and also attend church. Family sent wash to wet wash laundry and he and the boys did the rest of the hard work. Said that his foot was crushed recently and that he couldn't work therefore. John and James were working and paying board. Said that he had money



John and James were working and paying board. Said that he had money  
Said that his foot was crumpled recently and that he couldn't work therefore.  
wash to wet wash laundry and he and the boys did the rest of the hard work.  
means. Children go to school regularly and also attend church. Family seems  
didn't wear starched dresses but said he clothes them according to his  
to bake bread and cook. Neighbors were making complaints because girls  
of caring for children. Father had taught girls housework and Mary was able  
they now occupy and repaired it somewhat. Father stated that he was capable  
because they were afraid to be in house by themselves. Father bought home  
tale and said that girls were out on Saturday night till ten forty-five p.m.  
On July twenty-fifth another neighbor reported a similar  
care of the home and the girls or else they should be placed out.  
Informant said that father should either be made to keep a housekeeper for  
ported that father received thirty to forty dollars a month from William.  
William was supposed to send half of his pay check to mother, but John re-  
was reported to priests of the parish but nothing was done about it.  
and reported that the beds were so dirty that he couldn't stand them. Mother  
a farm a year ago but sold it. William recently came home for two nights  
managed to get hurt when he worked in order to get financial aid. Bought  
and Elizabeth were spending all their time on the streets. Father usually  
Grandmother but father used it all for himself and for the children. Mary  
nayed. James got soaked food at the neighboring Catholic Church for his  
worked as teamster occasionally, but preferred to live on money he had  
went to work for the first time today. John worked as teamster. Father  
Since she had gone there was no one to care for Mary or Elizabeth. James  
Grandmother has been at the Long Island Hospital since February or March.  
didn't work much and depended on William's earnings mostly. Father



because he was very thrifty. Didn't see where children could play if not on streets. There were no parks nearby. Said that he didn't call them in early on hot evenings. Said that he cared for girls and expected to bring them up to be good women. Family occupied five rooms, three of which were on the second floor. Two bedrooms were occupied by the boys and small bedroom by father. Girls slept on couch in living room. Children seemed healthy looking and were washing dishes, and sweeping floor when agent called. House was fairly clean and there seemed to be plenty of food in the house.

On August fourth neighbor reported that father was not proper person to care for children, especially girls. Was cruel to mother who worked for him all her life and had her sent to hospital for the rest of her life when she became ill. Has also seen children out late at night when afraid to go home before father returned. First neighbor to report had prepared girls for first communion and confirmation and furnished them with clothes with little aid from father. Father was very headstrong and would take advice from no one. First neighbor, Mrs. C reported that father never visited mother and was very selfish and dictatorial. Mother never mentioned his shortcomings until he sent her to the hospital. Has helped with dressing children but becoming tired of doing this since father furnishes too little to be able to dress them adequately. Mary was now becoming rapidly mature and father appeared to be inadequate to meet this situation. Though father had plenty of money he only provided scantily for his children. John told her that beds were not fit to sleep in, and said that he wanted to speak to agent concerning the whole situation, especially about father's stinginess and domineering attitudes. Girls rarely visited the neighbor. She took Mary to see her mother when she was



because he was very thrifty. Didn't see where children could play if not on streets. There were no parks nearby. Said that he didn't call them in early on hot evenings. Said that he cared for girls and expected to bring them up to be good women. Family occupied five rooms, three of which were on the second floor. Two bedrooms were occupied by the boys and small bedroom by father. Girls slept on couch in living room. Children seemed healthy looking and were washing dishes, and sweeping floor when agent called. House was fairly clean and there seemed to be plenty of food in the house.

On August fourth neighbor reported that father was not proper person to care for children, especially girls. Was cruel to mother who worked for him all her life and had her sent to hospital for the rest of her life when she became ill. Has also seen children out late at night when afraid to go home before father returned. First neighbor to report had prepared girls for first communion and furnished them with clothes with little aid from father. Father was very harsh and would take advice from no one. First neighbor, Mrs. C reported that father never visited mother and was very selfish and dictatorial. Mother never mentioned his shortcomings until he sent her to the hospital. Has helped with dressing children but becoming tired of doing this since father furnishes too little to be able to dress them adequately. Mary was now becoming rapidly mature and father appeared to be inadequate to meet this situation. Though father had plenty of money he only provided scantily for his children. John told her that beds were not fit to sleep in, and said that he wanted to speak to agent concerning the whole situation, especially about father's stinginess and domineering attitudes. Girls rarely visited the neighbor. She took Mary to see her mother when she was



confirmed and mother was very happy over this.

On September first John called at the office and said that he felt impelled to tell his story, but that father was not to hear of it. Father, according to boy, was shrewd, aggressive, and lazy. Has money available for proper care of children, but will not use it for this purpose and is afraid lest the OPW should find this out and make him pay for mother's and paternal grandmother's care at hospital. Hasn't worked for three months though he could have, because of a pretended disability. However insisted that all of John's and James' wages be turned over to him. Allowed John fifty cents a week out of \$18 and James twenty-five cents out of \$9. Father also took away the girls' pennies that they earned running errands and punished them if they spent it for candy. Nags Mary all the time about the housework and keeps her terrified. Is easiest on Elizabeth. John would leave home if he didn't feel a duty towards the girls. Distrusts and fears father because of his harsh injustice and selfishness. The two girls sleep in the attic on single cots without proper mattresses or coverings. Father and James occupy comfortable bed. Father once secured some spoiled food from the restaurant and because children wouldn't eat it he punished them. Father was making their lot very unhappy and is wise enough to protect himself from prosecution. John felt that the girls would respond well to kind and wholesome treatment.

On December twelfth Mary was at home suffering with scabies. Elizabeth suffering with scabies also and children very much neglected. John wasn't working. Father was receiving half-pay. John and James were sleeping on a bed covered with rags. Girls were sleeping in room off kitchen. Toilet in same room. Rose was placed out in the town of S..... Father was working as a watchman at \$15 week. Father reported to be sneaky and sued everyone



continued and mother was very happy over this.

On September first John called at the office and said that he felt impelled to tell his story, but that father was not to hear of it.

Father, according to boy, was shrewd, aggressive, and lazy. Has money available for proper care of children, but will not use it for this purpose and is afraid that the OPW should find this out and make him pay for mother's and paternal grandmother's care at hospital. Haven't worked for three months though he could have, because of a pretended disability. However insisted that all of John's and James' wages be turned over to him.

Allowed John fifty cents a week out of \$18 and James twenty-five cents out of \$9. Father also took away the girls' pennies that they earned running errands and punished them if they spent it for candy. Made Mary all the time about the housework and keeps her terrified. Is easiest on Elizabeth. John would leave home if he didn't feel a duty towards the girls. Distracts and fears father because of his harsh injustice and selfishness. The two girls sleep in the attic on single cots without proper mattresses or coverings. Father and James occupy comfortable bed. Father once secured some spoiled food from the restaurant and because children wouldn't eat it he punished them. Father was making their lot very unhappy and is wise enough to protect himself from prosecution. John felt that the girls would respond well to kind and wholesome treatment.

On December twelfth Mary was at home suffering with eczema. Elizabeth suffering with eczema also and children very much neglected. John wasn't working. Father was receiving half-pay. John and James were sleeping on a bed covered with rags. Girls were sleeping in room off kitchen. Toilets in same room. Rose was placed out in the town of S..... Father was working as a watchman at \$15 week. Father reported to be uneasy and that everyone



on whom he had the slightest claim. Home conditions were definitely unsatisfactory. Corner druggist deplored home conditions of children and of the home in general. Father never visited mother. John was all right but was beginning to let go of himself and now was becoming a bit wild. Father was very mean and selfish. Neighbor, Mrs. C who it was discovered was really a maternal aunt said that she had done all she could for the children and wouldn't do anymore. Thought that children were receiving inadequate care. Mr. C reported that he and wife were willing to testify against father. On December twelfth John at office reported that Mary had told father that he had made complaint and that therefore father had ordered him out. Father was terrorizing Mary. John reported that father kept beer in home.

On September 27, 1923 Mrs. C reported that mother and paternal grandmother were seriously ill at hospital. William was home for some time. James stole an auto and destroyed it by running it into a tree, and on probation at the present time. John was at home and was not keeping the agent informed and Mrs. C thought that he wasn't reliable. Agent however was not able to get any evidence against father. On October second father was in court for allowing Mary to attend school badly affected with pediculosis. Father was very erratic in court and paid no attention to school nurse and attendance officer. Father was found guilty and ordered to clean up Mary's head. On October eighth case was filed.

On December third the nurse of a neighboring settlement house reported that police officer complained of terrible conditions in the home. Father was sleeping with daughters and also there were other women in the home. Neighbor reported a mother and daughter frequenting the house and that one day the daughter came out with blood stained face. On



on whom he had the slightest claim. Home conditions were definitely unsatisfactory. Corner drugist reported home conditions of children and of the home in general. Father never visited mother. John was all right but was beginning to let go of himself and now was becoming a bit wild. Father was very mean and selfish. Neighbor, Mrs. O who it was discovered was really a maternal aunt said that she had done all she could for the children and wouldn't do anymore. Thought that children were receiving inadequate care. Mr. O reported that he and wife were willing to testify against father. On December twelfth John at office reported that Mary had told father that he had made complaint and that therefore father had ordered him out. Father was terrorizing Mary. John reported that father kept beat in home.

On September 27, 1933 Mrs. O reported that mother and paternal grandmother were seriously ill at hospital. William was home for some time. James stole an auto and destroyed it by running it into a tree, and on probation at the present time. John was at home and was not keeping the agent informed and Mrs. O thought that he wasn't reliable. Agent however was not able to get any evidence against father. On October second father was in court for allowing Mary to attend school badly affected with pediculosis. Father was very erratic in court and paid no attention to school nurse and attendance officer. Father was found guilty and ordered to clean up Mary's head. On October eighth case was filed.

On December third the nurse of a neighboring settlement house reported that police officer complained of terrible conditions in the home. Father was sleeping with daughters and also there were other women in the home. Neighbor reported a mother and daughter frequenting the house and that one day the daughter came out with blood stained face. On



December twelfth police officer reported drunkards removed from the home. Sleeping conditions were also reported to be very bad. Home now became known as "House of David" and there was a great deal of immorality. Man and woman found in bed together in the home. On December fifteenth complaint of neglect was lodged in court, and girls were removed to Society's Temporary Home. On December twentieth it was reported that John joined the navy since he couldn't stand the home situation any longer. Wanted agent to extend his leave of absence so that he could be witness in case. Judge was displeased with John's testimony and agent conferred with father's attorney and persuaded him of need of protection for the girls. The girls were transferred to the HDCC. The children were allowed to live with maternal aunt Mrs. C under supervision of the HDCC. On January 10, 1924 maternal aunt reported that father was paying as per agreement and that Mary was stubborn and unruly until she was threatened with being returned to the HDCC. On June twenty-fifth maternal aunt refused to keep children any longer. Father had been quite surly with her. On June twenty-sixth police officer in court reported that woman was visiting home regularly. James was drunk last week and was up for indecent assault on young boy but was freed because of lack of evidence. Father was also drinking a great deal. Maternal aunt was now old and was suffering with rheumatism. Children were saucy and rude to her. Father was not paying as per court order. Therefore couldn't keep children. Father said that he had paid regularly and was only a week and a half in arrears. Probation verified the latter fact. Father had bought a horse and cart for himself and working for himself. Mother died at the hospital on 3-31-24. Agent suggested that father pay more than five dollars a week if possible, and that children be sent to the HDCC. Father was willing to have children go to the HDCC but couldn't pay anymore



December twelfth police officer reported drunkards removed from the home.  
Sleeping conditions were also reported to be very bad. Home now became  
known as "House of David" and there was a great deal of immorality. Men  
and women found in bed together in the home. On December fifteenth con-  
plaint of neglect was lodged in court, and girls were removed to Society's  
Temporary Home. On December twentieth it was reported that John joined the  
navy since he couldn't stand the home situation any longer. Wanted report to  
extend his leave of absence so that he could be witness in case. Judge was  
displeased with John's testimony and agent conferred with father's attorney  
and persuaded him of need of protection for the girls. The girls were  
transferred to the HDCC. The children were allowed to live with maternal  
aunt Mrs. C under supervision of the HDCC. On January 10, 1924 maternal  
aunt reported that father was paying as per agreement and that Mary was  
at home and mainly until she was threatened with being returned to the  
HDCC. On June twenty-fifth maternal aunt refused to keep children any  
longer. Father had been quite early with her. On June twenty-sixth police  
officer in court reported that woman was visiting home regularly. James  
was drunk last week and was up for indecent assault on young boy and was  
fined because of lack of evidence. Father was also drinking a great deal.  
Maternal aunt was now old and was suffering with rheumatism. Children were  
sneaky and rude to her. Father was not paying as per court order. Therefore  
couldn't keep children. Father said that he had paid regularly and was only  
a week and a half in arrears. Probation verified the latter fact. Father  
had bought a horse and cart for himself and working for himself. Mother  
died at the hospital on 3-31-24. Agent suggested that father pay more than  
five dollars a week if possible, and that children be sent to the HDCC.  
Father was willing to have children go to the HDCC but couldn't pay anymore



for their board.

On December tenth maternal aunt asked to have Mary returned to her. HDCC was willing if agent would agree. Maternal uncle was earning a good wage. Maternal aunt said that Elizabeth was always the trouble maker. Agent agreed. On June 24, 1925 Elizabeth was very ill with pneumonia at the City Hospital. She begged father to reorganize the home. Father took a new apartment at \$25 a month and bought new furniture. William soon to come home from the navy. John and James were working. Maternal aunt thought that Mary was old enough to keep house with the help of the older brothers. Father had a new business taking away garbage from garages. He made out very well at this. Father was not drinking. Agent wanted father to prove his worth for a length of time. Maternal aunt was displeased with this plan. On June 23, 1927 father was reported to have bought a new home. All children at home thought girls were supposed to be with the HDCC. For past year father and John had been working together at the garage rubbish removal business and were making out well. Father was reported not drinking. Furniture in the home was new. Maternal aunt wanted children returned to father and had connived with him. Girls were at home with father since June 24, 1926 and on June 23, 1927 the case was filed.

Neither of the girls have a record. According to the OPW record this is the present situation in the home. Last aid was received on 2-2-33. Father is now a widower of fifty-nine. Five of six children married and only one at home. Father unemployed for eight years and supported by John for several years. Father was injured in 1914 and treated at the City Hospital for fractured leg and walks with difficulty. William is married and has two children and is unemployed. Receives OPW aid. John is now a widower though only twenty-eight years of age. No children and



for their board.

On December tenth maternal aunt asked to have Mary returned to her. KDCC was willing if agent would agree. Maternal uncle was earning a good wage. Maternal aunt said that Elizabeth was always the trouble maker Agent agreed. On June 24, 1933 Elizabeth was very ill with pneumonia at the City Hospital. She begged father to reorganize the home. Father took a new apartment at \$25 a month and bought new furniture. William soon to come home from the navy. John and James were working. Maternal aunt thought that Mary was old enough to keep house with the help of the other brothers. Father had a new business taking away garbage from garages. He made out very well at this. Father was not drinking. Agent wanted father to prove his worth for a length of time. Maternal aunt was displeased with this plan. On June 23, 1937 father was reported to have bought a new home. All children at home thought girls were supposed to be with the KDCC. For past year father and John had been working together at the garage rubbish removal business and were making out well. Father was reported not drinking furniture in the home was new. Maternal aunt wanted children returned to father and had connived with him. Girls were at home with father since June 24, 1933 and on June 23, 1937 the case was filed.

Neither of the girls have a record. According to the OPW record this is the present situation in the home. Last aid was received on 3-3-33. Father is now a widower of fifty-nine. Five of six children married and only one at home. Father unemployed for eight years and supported by John for several years. Father was injured in 1914 and treated at the City Hospital for fractured leg and walks with difficulty. William is married and has two children and is unemployed. Recieves OPW aid. John is now a widower though only twenty-eight years of age. No children and



lives with father. James is twenty-six years old, married, has three children, and is employed. Mary twenty-two is married and has no children. Works for the Boston American. Elizabeth is twenty and is married. Has no children. Husband in U.S. Navy. Rose sixteen in California. Father is five months in arrears with rent. Has no lodgers and never had any insurance. No property at present and no income and isn't able to work. Father and John received last aid on 6-9-33. Father returned to work.

Here we have a broken home through illness of mother, and father's cupidity and unhappy temperament made the home situation a very unhealthy one for his children who probably would have all been well adjusted if he had offered them any sort of a friendly atmosphere. As it is we have James who continues to build up his record, the last being 7-14-34, drunk. Luckily the girls were removed just when the home was really becoming immoral and as a result they were saved from becoming immoral themselves. As it is the family situation was finally cleaned up and after several years the father began to appreciate what he was missing by having his daughters taken away from him and he built up a more healthy home situation and finally earned the privilege of having the children returned to him. Both girls are now married and have so far kept out of overt trouble at least which is a very successful outcome considering the fact that their home environment was so poor and detrimental to normal development before their removal from home by court order. This case illustrates very clearly the function of this method of treating problems of inadequate childhood situations.

It was known to have been what was the case. One of Anna's older brothers, William, expressed the opinion that Anna was feeble-minded. Thought that Anna would get into more trouble if allowed to go without



lives with father. James is twenty-six years old, married, has three chil-  
dren, and is employed. Mary twenty-two is married and has no children.  
Works for the Boston American. Elizabeth is twenty and is married. Has no  
children. Husband in U.S. Navy. Rose sixteen in California. Father is  
five months in arrears with rent. Has no lodgers and never had any in-  
terest. No property at present and no income and isn't able to work.  
Father and John received last aid on 8-8-33. Father returned to work.  
Here we have a broken home through illness of mother, and  
father's capricious and whiskey temperament made the home situation a very  
unhappy one for his children who probably would have all been well adjust-  
ed if he had offered them any sort of a friendly atmosphere. As it is we  
have James who continues to build up his record, the last being 7-10-34.  
Frank. Luckily the girls were removed just when the home was really be-  
coming immoral and as a result they were saved from becoming immoral them-  
selves. As it is the family situation was finally cleaned up and after  
several years the father began to appreciate what he was missing by having  
his daughters taken away from him and he built up a more healthy home situa-  
tion and finally earned the privilege of having the children returned to  
him. Both girls are now married and have so far kept out of overt trouble  
at least which is a very successful outcome considering the fact that their  
home environment was so poor and detrimental to normal development before  
their removal from home by court order. This case illustrates very clearly  
the function of this method of treating problems of inadequate childhood  
situations.



Case XIII. BR. FAMILY

Anna- thirteen years and seven months.

Anna became a case through her delinquencies which were the result of very inadequate supervision during the period when girls, and boys as well, need the most guidance, viz., early adolescence. With her mother in a hospital for the insane and her father and siblings too busy to watch her, she was persuaded to have immoral relations with several unscrupulous young men. Anna's parents are Irish and Roman Catholic. Her father worked as a longshoreman and earned between twenty-five and thirty-five dollars a week. Anna was the youngest of a family of six children and at the time of referral spent much of her time entirely without family supervision of any kind.

On May 8, 1924 a special police officer reported that father was willing to leave Anna in charge of the Society pending prosecution of the man who seduced her. Anna reported that she had had relations with G.V. at the same time that her friend had had relations with R.D. at the latter's home. Anna reported several sex experiences with men. From April eighteenth when she left her home and came to the downtown section of the city she roomed with a friend H.W. who had sex relations with several men. H.W. had withdrawn one hundred dollars from her savings account and bought clothes for both Anna and herself.

Police officer was now on lookout for Anna's seducer G.V. who was also reported to be a dope peddler. On May 13, 1924 police officer expressed opinion that Anna should be placed in the custody of the Society. Anna was known to have been misbehaving for some time now. One of Anna's older brothers, William, expressed the opinion that Anna was feeble-minded. Thought that Anna would get into more trouble if allowed to go without



Case XIII. MR. FAMILY

Anna - thirteen years and seven months.

Anna became a case through her delinquencies which were the result of very inadequate supervision during the period when girls, and boys as well, need the most guidance, viz., early adolescence. With her mother in a hospital for the insane and her father and siblings too busy to watch her, she was persuaded to have immoral relations with several unscrupulous young men. Anna's parents are Irish and Roman Catholic. Her father worked as a longshoreman and earned between twenty-five and thirty-five dollars a week. Anna was the youngest of a family of six children and at the time of referral spent much of her time entirely without family supervision of any kind.

On May 8, 1934 a special police officer reported that father was willing to leave Anna in charge of the Society pending prosecution of the man who seduced her. Anna reported that she had had relations with G.V. at the same time that her friend had had relations with H.D. at the latter's home. Anna reported several sex experiences with men. From April eighteenth when she left her home and came to the downtown section of the city she roomed with a friend H.W. who had sex relations with several men. H.W. had withdrawn one hundred dollars from her savings account and bought clothes for both Anna and herself.

Police officer was now on lookout for Anna's seducer G.V. who was also reported to be a dope peddler. On May 13, 1934 police officer expressed opinion that Anna should be placed in the custody of the Society. Anna was known to have been misbehaving for some time now. One of Anna's older brothers, William, expressed the opinion that Anna was feeble-minded. Thought that Anna would get into more trouble if allowed to go without



special supervision or custody. Family wanted to move to a suburb. Mary the oldest daughter was the housekeeper of the family. William was now out of work and was wanting to learn printing trade. Edmund was working on a fish pier and was earning \$12 a week, and was attending continuation school at the same time. Thomas was out of work and was formerly also employed on a fish pier. Mother was committed to a Psychopathic Hospital on September 3, 1922. Maternal aunt was also a patient in hospital.

On May 14, 1924 father realized that Anna was beyond his control but wanted to give her another chance on probation if he could get a new home in a suburb. A landlady in a boarding house near a certain law school said that Anna stayed with her friend H.W. and made appointments with the law students until H.W.'s parents came for her and she went away with them. On May twenty-seventh G.V. was arrested, and he was later held over for the Grand Jury. On June eighteenth special police officer reported that G.V. was arrested by the Federal government for conspiracy. On June seventh G.V. had pleaded not guilty to charge of abuse of female child, Anna. On July sixteenth the court urged the father to allow Anna to have a tonsil and adenoid operation.

On October eleventh paternal cousin said that she had wanted to take Anna, but father had decided to take her to the House of the Good Shepherd for one year, and on October fourteenth she left Temporary Home of the Society for probation of one year in the House of the Good Shepherd. It was decided especially that Anna not go to paternal cousin because her husband had a habit of getting drunk ever so often, and hence the situation would be just as bad as in her unsupervised home.

On November fourteenth R.D. was sentenced to six months House of Correction and G.V. eight months House of Correction for abuse of



special supervision or custody. Family wanted to move to a suburb. Mary the oldest daughter was the housekeeper of the family. William was now out of work and was wanting to learn printing trade. Edmund was working on a fish pier and was earning \$12 a week, and was attending continuation school at the same time. Thomas was out of work and was formerly also employed on a fish pier. Mother was committed to a Psychopathic Hospital on September 3, 1933. Maternal aunt was also a patient in hospital.

On May 14, 1934 father realized that Anna was beyond his control but wanted to give her another chance on probation if he could get a new home in a suburb. A landlady in a boarding house near a certain law school said that Anna stayed with her friend H.W. and made appointments with the law students until H.W.'s parents came for her and she went away with them. On May twenty-seventh G.V. was arrested, and he was later held over for the Grand Jury. On June eighteenth special police officer reported that G.V. was arrested by the Federal Government for conspiracy. On June seventh G.V. had pleaded not guilty to charge of same of female child, Anna. On July sixteenth the court urged the father to allow Anna to have a trial and attend operation.

On October eleventh paternal cousin said that she had wanted to take Anna, but father had decided to take her to the House of the Good Shepherd for one year, and on October fourteenth the Iowa Temporary Home of the Society for Probation of one year in the House of the Good Shepherd. It was decided especially that Anna not go to paternal cousin because her husband had a habit of getting drunk ever so often, and hence the situation would be just as bad as in her unimpaired home.

On November fourteenth R.D. was sentenced to six months House of Correction and G.V. eight months House of Correction for same of



female child. On October 14, 1925 a maternal aunt asked that Anna be released to her home. However Anna's probation was extended till October 13, 1926 and she was to remain in the House of the Good Shepherd. Father wanted Anna released to him and didn't feel able to pay \$20 a week to send Anna to a Church Academy. Had had to borrow money to pay for T's tuition in Boston University for the present year. T. aiming to become a teacher and father was very proud of T. Mother was still unimproved and was suffering from paranoid ideation concerning "Reds" who are coming to control country and oppress her.

On October twenty-fourth maternal aunt's home proved to be very confused. Maternal grandmother was much distressed over the fact that she had signed away all her property. Maternal aunt was high strung and nervous individual and was confused; admitted confused condition and admitted finally that her home was not a good place for Anna and that there were too many boys around for her good. Thought it wiser to place Anna through the Catholic Charitable Bureau where she could earn and have proper supervision.

On November 2, 1925 Mother Superior believed that Anna needed supervision for at least another year. Anna was transferred from her former work in the laundry. On February 3, 1926 Mother Superior reported that Anna had become a Magdalen out of her own consent and has worn the black robe. Said that if agent couldn't get support for Anna, the sisters would support her. Anna had made a retreat in the House of the Good Shepherd and decided never to come out into the world again and in four years expected to become a Magdalen and stay at the House of the Good Shepherd for life. On September 1, 1926 father complained that sisters would not allow father to take Anna for needed dental care. Therefore the



female child. On October 16, 1935 a maternal aunt asked that Anna be re-  
leased to her home. However Anna's probation was extended till October 12,  
1936 and she was to remain in the House of the Good Shepherd. Father  
wanted Anna released to him and didn't feel able to pay \$30 a week to send  
Anna to a Church Academy. Had had to borrow money to pay for T's tuition  
in Boston University for the present year. T. aiming to become a teacher  
and father was very proud of T. Mother was still unimproved and was suffer-  
ing from paranoid ideation concerning "Reds" who are coming to control  
country and oppress her.

On October twenty-fourth maternal aunt's home proved to be  
very confined. Maternal grandmother was much distressed over the fact  
that she had signed away all her property. Maternal aunt was high strung  
and nervous individual and was confined; admitted confined condition and ad-  
mitted finally that her home was not a good place for Anna and that there  
were too many boys around for her good. Thought it wiser to place Anna  
through the Catholic Charitable Bureau where she could earn and have  
proper supervision.

On November 2, 1935 Mother Superior believed that Anna  
needed supervision for at least another year. Anna was transferred from  
her former work in the laundry. On February 3, 1936 Mother Superior re-  
ported that Anna had become a Neophyte out of her own consent and has worn  
the black robe. Said that it meant candidate's full support for Anna, the  
sisters would support her. Anna had made a retreat in the House of the  
Good Shepherd and decided never to come out into the world again and in  
four years expected to become a Neophyte and stay at the House of the Good  
Shepherd for life. On September 1, 1936 Father complained that sisters  
would not allow father to take Anna for needed dental care. Therefore the



supervisor of the SPCC agreed to make the necessary arrangements. On September eighth Anna was taken to the Boston Dispensary and found to be badly in need of further treatment. The work was completed on September thirtieth. On October thirteenth Anna confided in Society's messenger that she would have to give up life of Magdalen at the House of the Good Shepherd because her father wasn't feeling well and father might need her services in the world. (Interesting to know what Freud and his colleagues would say about this ..er, rationalization?). On January 28, 1927 father was sent to office by probation officer concerning advancing case to February second to get Anna released. William, Mary, and Edmund were now keeping house in outlying part of Boston. Father had a serious accident on a U.S. Shipping Board ship and was receiving \$16 a week compensation. Family was living in an old nine room house at thirty dollars a month and if Anna were released the boys were willing to support her. Mary also wanted Anna released. William was now working as a longshoreman at \$30 to \$40 per week. Edmund was employed by a ship contractor and was making about \$20 to \$25 a week. T. was working in a Boston University office, and in return for services was given her tuition free. Was attending evening classes and hoped to graduate in June. Father secured a promise for a job for Anna as an expert laundress in a nearby laundry. Anna was released on February second on recommendation of her probation officer. An agent of the local office of the Catholic Charitable Bureau volunteered to supervise Anna.

All went well till Anna had married and had had two children when she became enamoured of a friend and had immoral relations with him. Her husband told her to leave the home and on 1-23-34 she was up on a lewd and lascivious charge and given one year in jail from which she appealed. On 4-2-34 she was up on a lewd and lascivious charge and she was given one







year on probation to the House of the Good Shepherd.

Anna's probation officer reported to the writer that Anna had relations with a friend and was forced to leave her husband and two children whom she really loved. Was placed in the House of the Good Shepherd for one year but has since left and gone to her father's home. Wants to be taken back by her husband. Probation officer thinks that Anna is mentally normal and explains her present moral aberration by saying that it was due to fear of man who by his influence forced her into immoral relations. Desired that writer keep out of situation because it was at such a critical point at present. Probation officer believes that reconciliation will be finally brought about and that all will be well. This case is another clear cut illustration of the way in which the removal from home method is used to protect children whose environment is inadequate and harmful to their development and interests, and to their functioning in later life as useful citizens. Even Anna's last escapade was reacted to by her in a more sober mood because of the type of treatment earlier received and she will probably calm down soon as the last traces of adolescence vanish.

#### Case XIV. BN.FAMILY

Ellen- ten years and nine months.

Ellen's father deserted and she was left in the care of her mother who was very intemperate at the time of referral and even immoral. She was so depraved at this period of her life that she allowed Ellen to occupy the same bed as she and her paramours slept in. The parents in this case were Lithuanian and the father was Greek Catholic. However the mother was Roman Catholic and later on Ellen was taken to the latter church. Mother



year on probation to the House of the Good Shepherd.  
Anna's probation officer reported to the writer that Anna  
had relations with a friend and was forced to leave her husband and two  
children whom she really loved. Was placed in the House of the Good  
Shepherd for one year but has since left and gone to her father's home.  
Wants to be taken back by her husband. Probation officer thinks that Anna  
is mentally normal and explains her present moral aberration by saying that  
it was due to fear of man who by his influence forced her into immoral  
relations. Desired that writer keep out of situation because it was at  
such a critical point at present. Probation officer believes that reason-  
citation will be finally brought about and that all will be well. This  
case is another clear cut illustration of the way in which the removal from  
home method is used to protect children whose environment is inadequate and  
harmful to their development and interests, and to their functioning in  
later life as useful citizens. Even Anna's last escapade was needed to by  
her in a more sober mood because of the type of treatment earlier received  
and she will probably calm down soon as the last traces of adolescence  
vanish.

Case XIV. THE FAMILY  
Eliza - ten years and nine months.  
Eliza's father deserted and she was left in the care of her  
mother who was very inadequate at the time of referral and even ignored.  
She was so depressed at this period of her life that she allowed Eliza to  
occupy the same bed as she and her partners slept in. The parents in this  
case were Lithuanian and the father was Greek Catholic. However the mother  
was Roman Catholic and later on Eliza was taken to the latter church. Mother



was a bullet-maker and was earning fifty dollars a week.

On January 19, 1924 probation officer reported that mother was in on two charges, one for exposing and keeping liquor and one for selling it. Police officer asked Society to investigate case in order to determine whether there was moral neglect of the little girl Ellen. On January twenty-second mother moved from apartment where she had been residing. She had had whiskey there and many men callers who drank with her. At times there were as many as twenty men at one time. When mother was drunk Ellen would truant from school. Ellen was dirty and got little to eat.

From January twenty-fourth to February twenty-third mother disappeared. On latter date mother gave new address and mother was arrested for drunkenness. Mother was now with an Italian family. Mother had had a quarrel with the man with whom she lived over some furniture and had therefore left for her new apartment. Woman in new home to look after Ellen in case mother will go to jail. Ellen at first denied identity when seen. Father deserted number of years ago and Ellen didn't remember him. Ellen was now in the fourth grade. Neighbors reported that mother was drinking a great deal and that many men came to see her. Man with whom she formerly lived said that she had not paid him for furniture. Lived at his home for four weeks and never paid him a cent. Said he never slept with her, but willing to testify that she had slept with several different men on different nights and that Ellen stayed in same room with mother and men companions. Mother heavy drinker and often drunk. On February twenty-sixth mother's case was heard. Mother's attorney said that father had been cruel to her and that he was responsible for the bad conditions in the home and that he was a hard drinker. Mother now had permanent quarters and willing to



was a bullet-maker and was earning fifty dollars a week.

On January 19, 1934 probation officer reported that mother

was in on two charges, one for exposing and keeping liquor and one for selling it. Police officer asked Society to investigate case in order to determine whether there was total neglect of the little girl Ellen. On January twenty-second mother moved from apartment where she had been residing. She had had whiskey there and many men called who drank with her. At times there were as many as twenty men at one time. When mother was drunk Ellen would stand from school. Ellen was dirty and got little to eat.

From January twenty-fourth to February twenty-third mother

disappeared. On latter date mother gave new address and mother was arrested for drunkenness. Mother was now with an Italian family. Mother had had a quarrel with the man with whom she lived over some furniture and had there fore left for her new apartment. Woman in new home to look after Ellen in case mother will go to jail. Ellen at first denied identity when seen. Father asserted number of years ago and Ellen didn't remember him. Ellen was now in the fourth grade. Neighbors reported that mother was drinking a great deal and that many men came to see her. Men with whom she formerly lived said that she had not paid him for furniture. Lived at his home for four weeks and never paid him a cent. Said he never slept with her, but willing to testify that she had slept with several different men on different nights and that Ellen stayed in same room with mother and men on several nights. On February twenty-sixth mother's case was heard. Mother's attorney said that father had been cruel to her and that he was responsible for the bad conditions in the home and that he was a hard drinker. Mother now had permanent guardians and willing to



improve situation. Mother was given a suspended sentence and put on probation till August twenty-seventh. Mother had a good job and was making \$50 a week. Mother still didn't know where father was and didn't have her furniture, so couldn't move into new quarters. Judge told her to take her own and that on March fifth he would decide about rest of furniture.

On March seventh landlady reported that mother hadn't moved as yet. Mother came the other day and paid a month's rent saying that she would soon move in. On March twenty-second mother was home ill. Ellen was attending school regularly. Mother lost her furniture because Mr. P brought witnesses to prove that she hadn't paid for it. The home was clean though bare. Mother and Ellen were clean. On May fifth mother was drunk and didn't care if Ellen were removed. Mother lost thirty dollars this morning and said that she didn't have to work since she had lots of money. Mother owned house in suburb of E..... Ellen said that mother treated her well and didn't know that mother was drinking. Mother quarrelled with neighbor over thirty dollars she had lost. Home was clean. Mother didn't allow agent into bedroom. Mother was in her bare feet. There was no meal ready for Ellen. Gave Ellen money to buy her lunch. Landlady reported that many men visit mother and there is much fighting. Mother had male boarder with whom she slept. Ellen also sleeps in same bed. Landlady's daughter reported that mother was cruel to Ellen according to latter's own statement. Landlady's son picked up mother's bank book and saw that she has \$500 in this one bank at least. On May sixth mother's house was raided and boarder was found on floor. On May twenty-first home was raided at 4 a.m. and police found mother, boarder and Ellen in bed. Ellen was taken to the Chardon Street Temporary Home. Mother and boarder were found guilty of fornication and were sentenced to one month in House of Correction.



improve situation. Mother was given a suspended sentence and put on probation till August twenty-seventh. Mother had a good job and was making \$50 a week. Mother still didn't know where father was and didn't have her furniture, so couldn't move into new quarters. Judge told her to take her own and that on March fifth he would decide about rest of furniture.

On March seventh landlady reported that mother hadn't moved as yet. Mother came the other day and paid a month's rent saying that she would soon move in. On March twenty-second mother was home ill. Ellen was attending school regularly. Mother lost her furniture because Mr. F brought witnesses to prove that she hadn't paid for it. The house was clean though bare. Mother and Ellen were clean. On May fifth mother was drunk and didn't care if Ellen were removed. Mother lost thirty dollars this morning and said that she didn't have to work since she had lots of money. Mother owned house in amount of \$1000. Ellen said that mother treated her well and didn't know that mother was drinking. Mother drank with neighbor over thirty dollars she had lost. House was clean. Mother didn't allow agent into bedroom. Mother was in her bed. There was no meal ready for Ellen. Gave Ellen money to buy her lunch. Landlady reported that many men visit mother and there is much fighting. Mother had wife boarder with whom she slept. Ellen also slept in same bed. Landlady's daughter reported that mother was cruel to Ellen according to latter's own statement. Landlady's son picked up mother's bank book and saw that she has \$500 in this one bank at least. On May sixth mother's house was raided and boarder was found on floor. On May twenty-first house was raided at 4 a.m. and police found mother, boarder and Ellen in bed. Ellen was taken to the Chardon Street Temporary Home. Mother and boarder were found guilty of fornication and were sentenced to one month in House of Correction.



On July twenty-second an attorney said that some fine Lithuanian folk would like to have Ellen and he was referred to the HDCC where Ellen was sent on May thirty-first. On May 22, 1926 Mr. D of the HDCC reported that mother stole Ellen from foster home, and that mother couldn't be located. On April 9, 1927 an attorney approached agent and reported the mother was working for a packing company and was leading a very good life. Wanted to keep child. On 3-10-27 HDCC located Ellen in school she attended and removed her to the HDCC. Child was attending school fairly regularly and was well clothed. Home was fairly well furnished but there were three or four men boarding in home. Mother still owned double house in town of E.... On April twenty-first police officers reported no dereliction on mother's part. Home in fairly good condition. Four rooms at sixteen dollars a month. Three bedrooms in good condition. Mother working in packing company at fifteen dollars and thirty-six cents a week. Working in same place for four years and admitted stealing child. Property owned valued at \$4500 and mother owes \$2200 mortgage. Also has five hundred dollar savings account. Ellen was returned to mother and after probationary period case was filed on May 19, 1928.

On July 12, 1932 probation officer reported that Ellen was pregnant and put out of house by mother. Ellen unable to give evidence sufficient to determine putative father. On July 25, 1934 Boston City Hospital social service reported that Ellen gave birth to second illegitimate child. On September 18, 1934 mother was in office to get guidance as to adjudication of paternity and how support could be obtained from putative father of Rose, first illegitimate child. In September Boston City Hospital social service reported Ellen admitted to hospital in July and gave birth to baby girl. On July twenty-third father named E.L. and forty years



On July twenty-second an attorney said that some time  
Lithuanian folk would like to have Ellen and he was referred to the HMO  
where Ellen was sent on May thirty-first. On May 22, 1933 Mr. D of the  
HMO reported that mother stole Ellen from Foster home, and that mother  
couldn't be located. On April 9, 1933 an attorney approached agent and re-  
ported the mother was working for a packing company and was leading a very  
good life. Wanted to keep child. On 3-10-33 HMO located Ellen in school  
she attended and removed her to the HMO. Child was attending school fairly  
regularly and was well clothed. Home was fairly well furnished but there  
were three or four men boarding in home. Mother still owned double house  
in town of E.... On April twenty-first police officers reported no details  
Ellen on mother's part. Home in fairly good condition. Four rooms at  
sixteen dollars a month. Three bedrooms in good condition. Mother working  
in packing company at fifteen dollars and thirty-six cents a week. Working  
in same place for four years and admitted stealing child. Property owned  
valued at \$4500 and mother owes \$2200 mortgage. Also has five hundred  
dollar savings account. Ellen was returned to mother and after probationary  
period case was filed on May 19, 1933.  
On July 12, 1933 probation officer reported that Ellen was  
pregnant and put out of house by mother. Ellen unable to give evidence  
sufficient to determine putative father. On July 28, 1934 Boston City  
Hospital social service reported that Ellen gave birth to second illegiti-  
mate child. On September 12, 1934 mother was in office to get guidance as  
to adjustment of paternity and how support could be obtained from putative  
father of Rose, first illegitimate child. In September Boston City Hospi-  
tal social service reported Ellen admitted to hospital in July and gave  
birth to baby girl. On July twenty-third father named B.I. and four years



old, a cook at a club, was interviewed and he and mother were seen separately. E.L. claimed that he wasn't the father and refused to support. Maternal grandmother refused to take the mother and child home, and planned to send Ellen to Tewksbury, but later relented. Maternal stepgrandfather, Mr. D agreed to assume responsibility for care of mother and baby. They were therefore discharged to him. Social Worker of the hospital visited the home and heard that Ellen was seeing father of first illegitimate child. Worker was also suspicious of relationship between stepfather and Ellen.

Worker of the Division of Aid and Relief of the State Department of Public Welfare reports that mother(Ellen) is disagreeable and difficult to work with. Has a M.A. of eleven years and an I.Q. of 68. At birth of first child, she succeeded in persuading worker that she didn't know putative father, nor where he might be. Said that putative father was not the one being sought. Putative father made better impression than mother and was truthful. Division of Aid and Relief refused to prosecute him on mother's word. Mother removed from Tewksbury against advice. Maternal grandmother, a former drinking woman, has improved her way of life. Home clean and agreed to care for Ellen and child, whenever she was discharged. Mother recently asked for assistance at the Division of Aid and Relief in securing the adjudication of paternity of the second child. Had been to mother's probation officer for the same purpose. Worker advised her to go to the E.... police if she thought that she had sufficient evidence to secure warrant for man's arrest. Worker is convinced that mother doesn't know who is the putative father and who is responsible. Ellen in her opinion is irresponsible and belongs in Bridgewater. Ellen recently applied to the E.... OPW for aid. Worker advised against this. Mother assured worker that she was willing to care for mother and children and



old, a cook at a club, was interviewed and he and mother were seen separately. E.I. claimed that he wasn't the father and refused to support. Maternal grandmother refused to take the mother and child home, and planned to send Ellen to Tewksbury, but later relented. Maternal stepgrandmother, Mr. D agreed to assume responsibility for care of mother and baby. They were therefore discharged to him. Social Worker of the hospital visited the home and heard that Ellen was seeing father of first illegitimate child. Worker was also suspicious of relationship between stepfather and Ellen. Worker of the Division of Aid and Relief of the State Department of Public Welfare reports that mother (Ellen) is disreputable and difficult to work with. She is M.A. of eleven years and on I.G. of 62. At birth of first child, she succeeded in persuading worker that she didn't know putative father, nor where he might be. Said that putative father was not the one being sought. Putative father made better impression than mother and was truthful. Division of Aid and Relief refused to prosecute him on mother's word. Mother removed from Tewksbury against advice. Maternal grandmother, a former drinking woman, has improved her way of life. Home clean and agreed to care for Ellen and child, whenever she was discharged. Mother recently asked for assistance at the Division of Aid and Relief in securing the adjudication of paternity of the second child. Had been to mother's probation officer for the same purpose. Worker advised her to go to the E.... police if she thought that she had sufficient evidence to secure warrant for man's arrest. Worker is convinced that mother doesn't know who is the putative father and who is responsible. Ellen in her opinion is irresponsible and belongs in Bridgewater. Ellen recently applied to the E.... CPW for aid. Worker advised against this. Mother assured worker that she was willing to care for mother and children and



urged her not to send mother to an institution. There is no physical neglect of the children and to secure an admission of adjudication of paternity of either child is probably futile.

The writer visited the home and mother reported that Ellen's second child died on October 4, 1934. Ellen was not working, and was looking for work in shoe factory. Sophie, Ellen's first child is two and a half years old and is supported by maternal stepgrandfather who loves her very much. Latter works for the ERA. Neither of the grandparents want to give up the child. Maternal grandmother wanted to prosecute putative father but this was decided to be impossible in a conference between writer and supervisor of Boston office of the SPCC. Writer urged mother to educate Ellen to keep out of trouble. Ellen left preceding January and never returned till August 1934 and mother didn't know where she had been or that she had another child. Mother promised all cooperation. Helen apparently is quite irresponsible and there is a possibility that if her delinquencies do not cease she may yet have to be institutionalized. Home was warm and in good condition. Mother married again to man with whom she lived previously. Grandparents are planning to send Sophie to Parochial School. Latter is a very sweet child though not very healthy looking.

Here we have a case of intemperance and marital unhappiness ending in desertion by the father and immorality of the mother. In the midst of this very poor environment we have a dull young girl growing up and despite removal from home we find that the Society has a very hard time enforcing the removal because of mother's continued lack of cooperation and we soon find that mother has abducted and hidden the child away. As the result of this poor environment and limited intelligence we get a young woman without any real sense of moral living or moral standards and in two



urged her not to send mother to an institution. There is no physical neglect of the children and to secure an admission of admission of possibility of either child is probably false.

The writer visited the home and mother reported that Ellen's second child died on October 4, 1934. Ellen was not working, and was looking for work in shoe factory. Sophie, Ellen's first child is two and a half years old and is supported by maternal grandparents who love her very much. Father works for the BSA. Mother of the grandparents want to give up the child. Maternal grandmother wanted to prosecute paternity father but this was decided to be impossible in a conference between writer and supervisor of Boston office of the SPCC. Writer urged mother to educate Ellen to keep out of trouble. Ellen left preceding January and never returned till August 1934 and mother didn't know where she had been or that she had another child. Mother promised all cooperation. Ellen apparently is quite irresponsible and there is a possibility that if her delinquencies do not cease she may yet have to be institutionalized. Home was very poor in good condition. Mother married again to man with whom she lived previously. Grandparents are planning to send Sophie to Parochial School. Father is a very sweet child though not very healthy looking.

Here we have a case of interference and marital unhappiness

leading in desertion by the father and immorality of the mother. In the midst of this very poor environment we have a dull young girl growing up and despite removal from home we find that the Society has a very hard time enforcing the removal because of mother's continued lack of cooperation and we soon find that mother has abducted and hidden the child away. As the result of this poor environment and limited intelligence we get a young woman without any real sense of moral living or moral standards and in two



years time she has two illegitimate children. Who knows how many more she will have before being institutionalized since the mother admitted to the writer that she could no longer control Ellen. Ellen probably needs institutionalization for educational purposes and if it is found that she cannot be socialized she probably should be permanently institutionalized since she is a menace to society as a means of propagating illegitimate children without end and as a carrier of disease if she should ever be infected through her wide range of relationships with men. This case was successful in so far as it relieved the immediate situation, but too much harm was probably done by this child's environment before and after the Society's treatment program for it to be of any lasting service. Furthermore the mother's shrewdness before the requirements of the law also made it very difficult for the Society to carry out as much treatment as might have been instituted to reeducate this unfortunate little girl who was both innately endowed with weak intelligence and added to that incapacity had the burden to bear of developing in an inadequate and immoral environment.

---

#### Case XV. I.FAMILY

Ida- fifteen years and six months; Flavius- fourteen years; Edwigia- twelve years and nine months; Grollo- ten years and three months; Rotello- eight years and nine months; Alesio- seven years and two months.

The parents of these children quarrelled continually over the matter of adjusting their sex relations. Mother refused to have any more children and she and father quarrelled incessantly since father insisted on having normal relations of married life. Finally mother took in men boarders to protect herself from father, since she was living in constant fear of another pregnancy. Father soon left home. In this Italian



years time she has two illegitimate children. Who knows how many more she will have before being institutionalized since the mother admitted to the writer that she could no longer control Ellen. Ellen probably needs institutionalization for educational purposes and it is found that she cannot be socialized she probably should be permanently institutionalized since she is a menace to society as a means of propagating illegitimate children without end and as a carrier of disease if she should ever be infected through her wide range of relationships with men. This case was successful in so far as it relieved the immediate situation, but too much harm was probably done by this child's environment before and after the Society's treatment program for it to be of any lasting service. Further more the mother's whereabouts before the registration of the law also make it very difficult for the Society to carry out as much treatment as might have been instituted to reeducate this unfortunate little girl who was both innately endowed with weak intelligence and added to that innately had the burden to bear of developing in an inadequate and immoral environment.

Case XV. I. FAMILY

18-19 years and six months; William - fourteen years; Elizabeth - twelve years and nine months; Groff - ten years and three months; Hotelia - eight years and nine months; Alejo - seven years and two months.

The parents of these children quarrelled continually over the matter of adjusting their sex relations. Mother refused to have any more children and she and father quarrelled incessantly since father insisted on having normal relations of married life. Finally mother took in new boarders to protect herself from father, since she was living in constant fear of another pregnancy. Father soon left home. In this Italian



family we see the tragedy of uncontrolled breeding and its consequent unhappiness for both parents. Strangely enough this family happened to be Protestant by religion.

The father was working as a repair man for the Edison Company and was earning over \$32 a week. Both parents were born in Italy and had a foreign background, and were very slightly Americanized. On April 18, 1924 a worker of the Family Welfare Society reported that the conditions in the home were immoral. Mother refused to let boarders leave home. Doesn't want father to return. There were at the time about twelve people sleeping in the home on three beds. There were six children, the mother, and three male boarders in the home. Besides there was also a woman and her illegitimate child in the home. Father was a steady working-man and was earning between thirty-two and forty dollars per week. Mother reported that she slept with woman in one bed. All the children slept in another bed, and all the men boarders in the third bed. The worker regarded this report as being untrue and a misstatement. Mother applied to the Family Welfare Society as soon as father deserted. Family came to the United States in 1907 and to Massachusetts in 1917. Father was working in the mill city of L.... October 1923 parents moved to Boston. Ida couldn't get work and therefore works at the Sailor's Baptist Bethel Church and goes to continuation school. L.M. is mother's star boarder and attended the Mission Church with the family in city of L.... when father offered him lodging in their home. L.M. is much younger than mother, but nevertheless an infatuation has sprung up between them and this has caused much trouble in the family. Mother told the minister that she would rather give up children than L.M. Minister had conference with the family and said that family would probably be broken up if L.M. doesn't leave home. Family was



Family we see the tragedy of uncontrolled breeding and its consequent unhappiness for both parents. Strangely enough this family happened to be Protestant by religion.

The father was working as a repair man for the Edison Company and was earning over \$25 a week. Both parents were born in Italy and had a foreign background, and were very slightly Americanized. On April 18, 1924 a worker of the Family Welfare Society reported that the conditions in the home were insalubrious. Mother refused to let boarders leave home. Doosey's want father to return. There were at the time about twelve people sleeping in the home on three beds. There were six children, the mother, and three male boarders in the home. Besides there was also a woman and her illegitimate child in the home. Father was a steady working man and was earning between thirty-two and forty dollars per week. Mother reported that she slept with woman in one bed. All the children slept in another bed, and all the men boarders in the third bed. The worker regarded this report as being untrue and a misstatement. Mother applied to the Family Welfare Society as soon as father deserted. Family came to the United States in 1907 and to Massachusetts in 1917. Father was working in the city of Boston. October 1923 parents moved to Boston. The mother's son got work and therefore works at the Sailor's Baptist Bethel Church and goes to continuation school. E.M. is mother's star boarder and attended the Mission Church with the family in city of Boston when father offered him lodging in their home. E.M. is much younger than mother, but nevertheless an infestation has sprung up between them and this has caused much trouble in the family. Mother told the minister that she would rather give up children than E.M. Minister had conference with the family and said that family would probably be broken up if E.M. Doosey's leave home. Family was



known to the City Mission of the city of L.... and father had a good reputation. L.M. induced family to come to Boston. Mother wanted L.M. to marry Ida but neither of them would consent to this. Father told City Mission of L. that he would leave the home if father would pay him \$400 which he claims he contributed to the support of the family. Father claimed that this was untrue. Maternal aunt in L... said that father lived with them off and on and that L.M. was never strong on paying his board. However he frequently bought things for the house and assumed responsibility of the family. Mother did whatever L.M. desired, waited on him, and went out with him. Father was willing to return if L.M. would move. Worker of the Family Welfare Society reported that Ida was now working for the Cooperative Work Room for the past two weeks and that she was having little supervision. The Family Welfare Society(FWS) and the Baptist Church were thinking of placing her in a boarding home. Father is a negative personality and is a steady worker and fond of children. During the past year he hasn't supported mother but has clothed children. At one time mother continued to provide for the home for two months when father was out of work. Father didn't ask where mother got the money and said he was waiting for her to tell him. L.M. is supposed to have loaned mother \$500 and is claiming this money now.

Mother said that she was willing to have father return and live with him without having relations with him. She agreed to put out all boarders except L.M. Father refused this offer. Mother acted very emotionally at times and at times says she is ready to give up children, and at other times not ready to do so. Worker of the FWS warned mother that the SPCC was coming in on the case and thought that mother was amoral rather than immoral. There is no proof of mother having intercourse with lodgers.



known to the City Mission of the city of I. .... and father had a good reputa-  
tion. I.M. induced family to come to Boston. Mother wanted I.M. to marry  
her but neither of them would consent to this. Father told City Mission  
of I. that he would leave the home if father would pay him \$400 which he  
claimed he contributed to the support of the family. Father claimed that  
this was untrue. Mother said in I. .... said that father lived with them  
all and on and that I.M. was never strong on paying his board. However he  
frequently bought things for the home and assumed responsibility of the  
family. Mother did whatever I.M. desired, waited on him, and went out with  
him. Father was willing to return if I.M. would move. Worker of the  
Family Welfare Society reported that I.M. was now working for the Cooperative  
Work Room for the past two weeks and that she was having little supervision.  
The Family Welfare Society (FWS) and the Baptist Church were thinking of  
placing her in a boarding house. Father is a negative personality and is a  
steady worker and fond of children. During the past year he hasn't support-  
ed mother but has clothed children. At one time mother continued to pro-  
vide for the home for two months when father was out of work. Father  
didn't ask where mother got the money and said he was waiting for her to  
tell him. I.M. is supposed to have loaned mother \$200 and is claiming this  
money now.  
Mother said that she was willing to have father return and  
live with him without having relations with him. She agreed to put out all  
boarders except I.M. Father refused this offer. Mother acted very emo-  
tionally at times and at times says she is ready to give up children, and  
at other times not ready to do so. Worker of the FWS named mother that  
the SPCC was coming in on the case and thought that mother was emotional rather  
than immoral. There is no proof of mother having intercourse with father.



Flavius reported that he once saw mother and L.M. kissing. When father lived with them mother would become alarmed if L.M. didn't return by midnight. Often she forced father to go out with her to search for latter.

On May 1, 1924 agent reported mother to be a pleasant woman. Mother reported that father was supporting irregularly and that when out of work lets mother pay the bills and has had to keep lodgers to meet her expenses. Two of the lodgers were now paying \$7 a month each. L.M. was paying no board but was buying the household food supply. L.M. gave her \$250 once when father was out of work for three months and has since helped to provide food. Father became jealous and refused to work in order to be able to watch mother more closely. Said that she would rather keep L.M. than have father return, since latter made her life miserable and nagged continuously. Mother cried as she described her hardships and saw nothing wrong in the fact that she kept men boarders. Agent asked mother to have boys move into the room next to hers and that lodgers move into the second room from hers. Mother agreed to this arrangement. Woman living with mother was pale and unpleasant looking woman. Spoke little English and was living with mother for the past two months. Said that her husband and two children had returned to Italy in August of 1923, but that she herself had remained of her own volition with mother. Didn't pay board but did housework for mother. On May sixth father could give no adequate evidence of mother's guilt to worker of the FWS. In conference at the FWS office father, mother, and L.M. were present. Father told agent of one suspicious incident before the others arrived for the conference. The conference resulted in the following decision: L.M. was to leave by July first and father, who was making \$35 a week, was to reimburse L.M. to the amount of \$300 in small sums. Father was to pay \$35 to \$50 by June



Flavins reported that he once saw mother and L.M. kissing. When father lived with them mother would become alarmed if L.M. didn't return by midnight. Often she forced father to go out with her to search for father.

On May 1, 1934 agent reported mother to be a pleasant woman. Mother reported that father was supporting irregularly and that when out of work father would pay the bills and has had to keep lodgers to meet her expenses. Two of the lodgers were now paying \$7 a month each. L.M. was paying no board but was buying the household food supply. L.M. gave her \$250 once when father was out of work for three months and has since helped to provide food. Father became jealous and refused to work in order to be able to watch mother more closely. Said that she would rather keep L.M. than have father return, since latter made her life miserable and nagged continuously. Mother cried as she described her hardships and saw nothing wrong in the fact that she kept her boarders. Agent asked mother to have boys move into the room next to hers and that lodgers move into the second room from hers. Mother agreed to this arrangement.

Woman living with mother was pale and unpleasant looking woman. spoke little English and was living with mother for the past two months. Said that her husband and two children had returned to Italy in August of 1932, but that she herself had remained of her own volition with mother. Didn't pay board but did housework for mother. On May sixth father could give no adequate evidence of mother's guilt to workers of the WBS. In conference at the WBS office father, mother, and L.M. were present. Father told agent of one suspicious incident before the others arrived for the conference. The conference resulted in the following decision: L.M. was to leave by July first and father, who was making \$25 a week, was to reimburse L.M. to the amount of \$300 in small sums. Father was to pay \$35 to \$50 by June



first. L.M. was to stay in Boston for a time to see that father carried out his word. Other boarders were also to be dismissed and father was to live with mother and children from June first and on. Mother however made it plain that she refused to have marriage relations with father. The parents were informed that the FWS and the MSPCC would not see the children neglected without bringing action. Worker of FWS was of the opinion that L.M. was more of a man than the father was. On June fifth it was reported that father had given mother \$25 each week but hadn't lived with her as yet since L.M. was still there. Father was unable to pay L.M. \$50. There was a possibility of Ida being placed with maternal uncle in New Jersey. Worker of the FWS reported that Ida had broken down and cried at her work over the home situation. Worker felt that father was insincere since he realized that even if he should return the solution would not be a happy one for him. Worker therefore felt that two or three of the younger children should be placed out.

On June sixth mother and woman were at home. Mother said that she preferred to have L.M. stay with her until father paid him the \$50 that he had promised to repay. Father said to her then when he would return he would be the boss and she would have to have intimate relations with him. Mother resented this statement very bitterly. Agent warned her that children might have to be removed if conditions were not remedied somehow. Mother was advised to confer with the FWS worker, if father mistreated her. Worker was pessimistic about outcome of the entire plan and thought that it should be carried out mainly to get further evidence.

On June eleventh worker reported that mother was at office and said that children were now of the greatest importance to her and that she would dismiss boarders. Mother was willing to have Ida go to maternal



first, I.M. was to stay in Boston for a time to see that father carried out his word. Other boarders were also to be dismissed and father was to live with mother and children from June first and on. Mother however made it plain that she refused to have marriage relations with father. The parents were informed that the FWS and the MBPOJ would not see the children neglected without bringing action. Worker of FWS was of the opinion that I.M. was more of a man than the father was. On June fifth it was reported that father had given mother \$38 each week but hadn't lived with her as yet since I.M. was still there. Father was unable to pay I.M. \$50. There was a possibility of his being placed with maternal uncle in New Jersey. Worker of the FWS reported that his had broken down and cried at her work over the home situation. Worker felt that father was insincere since he realized that even if he should return the action would not be a happy one for him. Worker therefore felt that two or three of the younger children should be placed out.

On June sixth mother and woman were at home. Mother said that she preferred to have I.M. stay with her until father paid her the \$50 that he had promised to repay. Father said to her then when he would return he would be the boss and she would have to have intimate relations with him. Mother resented this statement very bitterly. Agent warned her that children might have to be removed if conditions were not remedied somehow. Mother was advised to confer with the FWS worker. If father mistreated her, Worker was pessimistic about outcome of the entire plan and thought that it should be carried out mainly to get further evidence.

On June eleventh worker reported that mother was at office and said that children were now of the greatest importance to her and that she would dismiss boarders. Mother was willing to have I.M. go to maternal



uncle who was a minister in New Jersey. Mother was pleasant and wanted father to sign a four hundred dollar note to L.M. Agent was unwilling to insist on this and mother told that ten days was sufficient time for L.M. to find himself a new place of residence. Agent promised that he and worker of the FWS would see to it that mother received a fair deal. On June twenty-seventh boarders were still with mother and father refused to give further support while boarders remain in the home. Ida was soon to go to her maternal uncle in New Jersey. On July fourteenth Ida still had not left and mother gave an absurd excuse saying that Ida could not go until her father had bought her a new outfit of clothing even though her present outfit was quite sufficient. On July twenty-first the Cooperative Work Room complained that Ida had to be paid daily since mother was paying more attention to L.M. than to children. Complaint was made in court. On July twenty-fifth all the children were removed. On July twenty-sixth mother was very much provoked with father and threatened to murder him. Mother said that landlord refused to rent boarder's rooms in same house because FWS worker had explained situation to him. Children were returned pending time that boarders were out of home. On July twenty-eighth mother complained of father's sex habits and said that she kept L.M. to protect self from father. Mother telephoned maternal uncle in New Jersey and reported that Ida had landed there safely. Edwigia also wanted to leave and mother was agreeable to this plan. On August twenty-first it was reported that mother and family were living by themselves. Mother was visiting L.M. who lived a few doors away. Father was working regularly. Family have been without money two times recently, and father agreed that mother should borrow from L.M. Home situation was again bad and parents were still not compatible. Mother was willing to place Children. Mother wanted to marry



uncle who was a minister in New Jersey. Mother was pleasant and wanted  
father to sign a four hundred dollar note to I.M. Agent was unwilling to  
insist on this and mother told that ten days was sufficient time for I.M. to  
find himself a new place of residence. Agent promised that he and worker  
of the FWS would see to it that mother received a fair deal. On June  
twenty-seventh boarders were still with mother and father refused to give  
further support while boarders remain in the house. Ida was soon to go to  
her maternal uncle in New Jersey. On July fourteenth Ida still had not  
left and mother gave an absurd excuse saying that Ida could not go until  
her father had bought her a new outfit of clothing even though her present  
outfit was quite sufficient. On July twenty-first the Cooperative Work Room  
complained that Ida had to be paid daily since mother was paying none.  
Attention to I.M. then to children. Complaint was made in court. On July  
twenty-fifth all the children were removed. On July twenty-sixth mother  
was very much provoked with father and threatened to murder him. Mother  
said that landlord refused to rent boarder's rooms in same house because  
FWS worker had explained situation to him. Children were returned pending  
time that boarders were out of home. On July twenty-eighth mother com-  
plained of father's sex habits and said that she kept I.M. to protect self  
from father. Mother telephoned maternal uncle in New Jersey and reported  
that Ida had landed there safely. Uncle also wanted to leave and mother  
was agreeable to this plan. On August twenty-first it was reported that  
mother and family were living by themselves. Mother was visiting I.M. who  
lived a few doors away. Father was working regularly. Family have been  
without money two times recently, and father agreed that mother should  
borrow from I.M. Home situation was again bad and parents were still not  
compatible. Mother was willing to place children. Mother wanted to marry



L.M. but he didn't want to do so as she was too old for him. L.M. was however willing to live with her. Ida was happily placed with maternal uncle.

On September ninth Flavius returned to the eighth grade, but wanted to go to work, saying that mother needed the money. Home situation was still unsatisfactory and parents were continually wrangling and almost coming to blows. Both were casting slurs on each other. During past month father was earning about \$24 a week. This was not enough to support the family as the rent alone was \$33 a month. Father continually allowed mother to borrow money from L.M. Afterwards he always threw this up to her as if he was not at all to blame in the matter. L.M. was giving mother extra food and she went to see him very often. Mother was also cleaning his room. Father was of course furiously jealous over the whole matter. Parents were now planning to separate and both wanted the custody of the children. Mother wanted four younger children and was willing to have Flavius go with father. Mother wanted to go to work. Mother would expect some support from father. SPCC to step in if either would be immoral. In a word, the family seemed unable to coalesce and was a bad environment for the young children in the home.

On September twenty-fifth family were reported to be happy and father was now friendly with L.M. Mother reported that father did not want a divorce. Said that L.M. might visit if she would live in same room with father. Mother again wanted to take in lodgers. On October twentieth mother was cheerful. Home was clean and there was food cooking in the kitchen. Parents were getting along better. L.M. took his dinner with the family regularly. Father was agreeable to arrangements. Flavius and the other children were now in school. Mother wanted to work as a cook in order to supplement the family income. L.M.'s presence at meals made mother happy.



100  
I.M. but he didn't want to do so as she was too old for him. I.M. was however willing to live with her. Ida was happily placed with maternal grandfather. On September ninth Flavia returned to the eighth grade.

but wanted to go to work, saying that mother needed the money. Home situation was still unsatisfactory and parents were continually struggling and almost coming to blows. Both were casting glances on each other. During past month father was earning about \$34 a week. This was not enough to support the family as the rent alone was \$33 a month. Father continually allowed mother to borrow money from I.M. Afterwards he always threw this up

to her as if he was not at all to blame in the matter. I.M. was giving mother extra food and she went to see him very often. Mother was also claiming his room. Father was of course furiously jealous over the whole matter. Parents were now planning to separate and both wanted the custody of the children. Mother wanted four younger children and was willing to have Flavia go with father. Mother wanted to go to work. Mother would expect some support from father. SPCC to step in if either would be immoral. In a word, the family seemed unable to coalesce and was a bad environment for the young children in the home.

On September twenty-fifth family were reported to be happy and father was now friendly with I.M. Mother reported that father did not want a divorce. Said that I.M. might visit if she would live in same room with father. Mother again wanted to take in lodgers. On October twentieth mother was cheerful. Home was clean and there was food cooking in the kitchen. Parents were getting along better. I.M. took his dinner with the family regularly. Father was agreeable to arrangements. Flavia and the other children were now in school. Mother wanted to work as a cook in order to supplement the family income. I.M.'s presence at meals made mother happy.



On April 23, 1925 agent in new four room apartment home reported that home was clean and in excellent order. Edwigia and mother and Alesio were sleeping in one bed. Father slept in another bed in the same room with Grollo and Rotello. Flavius was sleeping with lodgers in adjoining room and another slept on a cot. L.M. was agin in the home. Father couldn't repay his debt to the latter and thus L.M. was paying no board. Other lodger was paying eight dollars a month. Mother still refused to have normal relations with husband and said she wanted to have perverted relationships. L.M. spoke to father about the matter and father never took it seriously. L.M. said that he stayed in home to protect mother from abuse by father. Also helped to feed children. Agent however told L.M. that he would have to leave home. On May first FWS worker reported that police in home must have scared mother since she was now more law-abiding. On June fourth father reported that he was now a night watchman for the same company for which he had been working. Father was earning forty dollars a week. Family were now self-supporting. After this job is completed he will return to his former work at thirty-two dollars a week, which was not enough to support family comfortably. Father said that he now trusted L.M. and had forgiven him. Said that he permitted him to return to the home. Maternal aunt from city of L..... visited and mother said that she would like to return to L.... to escape the shame connected with going to court.(Interesting at this point to emphasize the fact that the removal technique is especially effective with families who have standards and consider it a humiliation to be haled before the courts.) Mother refused to allow Edwigia to go on vacation to New Jersey because Ida had not written to her for a long while. FWS worker reported that L.M. was ill and that mother had herbs for him. Maternal grandfather was a powerful city magistrate in Italy and had an



On April 23, 1935 agent in new four room apartment house re-

ported that house was clean and in excellent order. Elizabeth and mother and  
Alonso were sleeping in one bed. Father sleep in another bed in the same  
room with Gracie and Basilio. Yvonne was sleeping with lodgers in adjacent  
ing room and another sleep on a cot. J.M. was again in the house. Father  
couldn't repay his debt to the father and when J.M. was paying no board.  
Other lodger was paying eight dollars a month. Mother still refused to  
have normal relations with husband and said she wanted to have perverted re-  
lationships. J.M. spoke to father about the matter and father never took it  
seriously. J.M. said that he stayed in house to protect mother from abuse by  
father. Also helped to feed children. Agent however told J.M. that he  
would have to leave house. On May first FWS worker reported that police in  
house must have searched mother since she was now more law-abiding. On June  
fourth father reported that he was now a night watchman for the same company  
for which he had been working. Father was earning forty dollars a week.  
Family were now self-supporting. After this job is completed he will return  
to his former work as thirty-two dollars a week, which was not enough to  
support family comfortably. Father said that he now treated J.M. and had  
forgiven him. Said that he permitted him to return to the house. Maternal  
agent from city of I..... visited and mother said that she would like to re-  
turn to I..... to escape the shame connected with going to court. (Interesting  
at this point to emphasize the fact that the removal technique is especially  
effective with families who have standards and consider it a humiliation to  
be halled before the courts.) Mother refused to allow Edwige to go on  
vacation to New Jersey because Ida had not written to her for a long while.  
FWS worker reported that J.M. was ill and that mother had borne for him.  
Maternal grandfather was a powerful city magistrate in Italy and had an



illegitimate as well as legitimate family. Worker wondered whether this fact might have some bearing on mother's behavior.

On June twenty-seventh worker reported that L.M. was still visiting home. On September eleventh Ida was reported as being rather unruly, but maternal uncle was training and educating her according to his means. On December sixteenth mother was afraid to go to the hospital for needed x-ray lest she have to have an operation. Family was all right financially and father was behaving. Hadn't seen L.M. for some time though he still was in neighborhood. Edwigia was in the seventh grade. House was in fine shape and FWS worker will try to have mother examined.

On April 24, 1926 worker reported that father left home. Unable to support family and father allowed lodger in home. Then parents quarrelled and both father and lodger left. On May first worker reported that father was not supporting family though earning \$31 a week on railroad. Mother had borrowed money from friend and Flavius was earning sixteen dollars a week and gave twelve to mother. Edwigia left school but was not working. On June eleventh worker reported that children changed around in City of L..... after court ordered Grollo, Rotello, and Alesio to home of maternal uncle in L.... on May fourteenth. Worker wanted to bring non-support charge against father. On July sixteenth children were brought home from L..... without court order and Edwigia looked pale. On August twenty-seventh mother ready to do anything to have children returned who were now boarded in town of W.... at \$10 a week. Father wanted to live with mother if she would be more agreeable. Children were returned in September.

On March 4, 1927 father said that he was a laborer and had no regular work. Flavius was also unemployed. Ida was attending the Baptist Bible Institute in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Because of mother's



illegitimate as well as legitimate family. Worker wondered whether this fact might have some bearing on mother's behavior.

On June twenty-seventh worker reported that I.M. was still visiting home. On September eleventh Ida was reported as being rather unruly, but maternal uncle was treating and educating her according to his means. On December sixteenth mother was afraid to go to the hospital for needed x-ray test she gave to have an operation. Family was all right financially and father was behaving. Edwig's seen I.M. for some time though he still was in neighborhood. Edwig's was in the seventh grade. House was in fine shape and FWS worker will try to have mother examined.

On April 24, 1938 worker reported that father left home. Unable to support family and father allowed lodger in home. Then parents quarreled and both father and lodger left. On May first worker reported that father was not supporting family though earning \$31 a week on railroad. Mother had borrowed money from friend and Edwig's was earning sixteen dollars a week and gave twelve to mother. Edwig's left school but was not working. On June eleventh worker reported that children changed around in City of B.... after court ordered Grillo, Kestelo, and Alexis to home of maternal uncle in I.... on May fourteenth. Worker wanted to bring non-support charge against father. On July sixteenth children were brought home from I.... without court order and Edwig's locked pale. On August twenty-seventh mother ready to do anything to have children returned who were now housed in town of E.... at \$10 a week. Father wanted to live with mother if she would be more affectionate. Children were returned in September.

On March 4, 1937 father said that he was a laborer and had no regular work. Edwig's was also unemployed. Ida was attending the Baptist Bible Institute in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Because of mother's



illness Edwigia had home permit and attended continuation school a half day each week. Father reported that L.M. was neither wanted nor did he come to home. Home was well kept and consisted of four rooms. Rotello and Grollo were doing well in school and were clean and well-clothed. On May twenty-seventh father was working as a laborer. Flavius was working in a store and was paying mother ten dollars a week. Edwigia was still not working. L.M. didn't visit mother nor did she see him. Mother didn't know where he was. On August eighteenth father was working near W.... Ida returned home on vacation August sixth. Finished three year preliminary course at the Institute in place of high school. Had scholarship for office work and kitchen work to pay her expenses and she was to return to the Institute in September. Wanted to be a missionary worker. Father was now reported to be lazy and working irregularly. Didn't earn enough to support his family and mother still had to borrow money to support family. Father was earning thirty-two dollars a week as a laborer. Father did not know whereabouts of L.M. Neither Edwigia nor Flavius were working. Edwigia was still attending continuation school. Ida was excellent appearing girl. Ida was now working. On November fifteenth father was working except when it rained. Flavius was working irregularly in furniture stores.

On February 11, 1928 Ida was reported not to have returned to the Institute as she had expected. Not working because of illness. Family moved to suburb. Father was working on buildings in various places. Edwigia was not working. L.M. didn't come to home anymore. Ida believed that mother had nothing to do with L.M. Ida asked for work as an interpreter of Italian and French. Family were living in seven room apartment at thirty-eight dollars a month. On October 8, 1928 attorney reported that father was away from home for past three months. L.M. was again living with



Illness Edwige had some periods and attended continuation school a half day each week. Father reported that E.M. was neither wanted nor did he come to home. Home was well kept and consisted of four rooms. Rosalie and Edwige were doing well in school and were clean and well-dressed. On May twenty-seventh father was working as a laborer. Edwige was still not working and was paying mother ten dollars a week. Edwige was still not working. E.M. didn't visit mother nor did she see him. Mother didn't know where he was. On August eighteenth father was working near W.... He returned home on vacation August sixth. Finished three year preliminary course at the Institute in place of high school. Had scholarship for office work and kitchen work to pay her expenses and she was to return to the Institute in September. Wanted to be a missionary worker. Father was now reported to be lazy and working irregularly. Didn't earn enough to support his family and mother still had to borrow money to support family. Father was earning thirty-two dollars a week as a laborer. Father did not know whereabouts of E.M. Neither Edwige nor Edwige were working. Edwige was still attending continuation school. He was excellent appearing girl. He was now working. On November fifteenth father was working except when it rained. Edwige was working irregularly in furniture stores. On February 11, 1938 he was reported not to have returned to the Institute as she had expected. Not working because of illness. Family moved to suburb. Father was working on buildings in various places. Edwige was not working. E.M. didn't come to home anymore. He believed that mother had nothing to do with E.M. He asked for work as an interpreter of Italian and French. Family were living in seven room apartment at thirty-eight dollars a month. On October 8, 1938 attorney reported that father was away from home for past three months. E.M. was again living with



mother in home. Didn't know whether Ida was at home or not. Flavius was married and was living with father. L.M. was warned by letter to leave the home or prosecution would follow. On October thirtieth father called and reported the same. Father was working in Q.... as day laborer and earning between thirty-two and thirty-five dollars per week. Flavius was driving a truck for a furniture company. Edwigia was working out. All of children called to see him and he gave them money from time to time. Father wanted to get divorce and custody of children. Didn't give anything to mother. Thinks he could support children. Ida would probably prefer to stay with mother. L.M. returned to home in April of 1927. L.M. is about thirty-seven years old and is a bachelor. Father could furnish no evidence of immorality between mother and L.M. On November sixteenth Flavius' wife reported that latter worked in L.... and returned late evenings. Ida was reported to be living in New York. On November twenty-sixth mother was living in new apartment. Ida only went on visit to New York and was running a sewing machine in a factory in N.... Edwigia was working for last two months. Three youngest boys were in school. Ida and boys were attending a Presbyterian Church. L.M. was not living in home and just visited. On December sixth the minister of the latter church reported that he was trying to bring about reconciliation between parents. Ida was engaged to a childhood friend. Was delaying marriage to help support family. Young man was an assistant pastor of a church in New York. Ida was working piece work at twenty to thirty dollars a week. Ida is a fine girl and sings and teaches a class in church Sunday School. Father, Flavius and the latter's wife were attending an Italian Methodist Church. Mother invited L.M. to dinner on Easter Sunday. After drinking some wine father became excited and made accusations about L.M. and said he didn't want latter in home. Father therewith left



mother in home. Didn't know whether Ida was at home or not. Flavian was married and was living with father. I.M. was warned by letter to leave the home or prosecution would follow. On October thirtieth father called and reported the same. Father was working in 5.... as day laborer and earning between thirty-two and thirty-five dollars per week. Flavian was driving a truck for a furniture company. Edwige was working out. All of children called to see him and he gave them money from time to time. Father wanted to get divorce and custody of children. Didn't give anything to mother. Think he could support children. Ida would probably prefer to stay with mother. I.M. returned to home in April of 1927. I.M. is about thirty-seven years old and is a bachelor. Father could furnish no evidence of immorality between mother and I.M. On November sixteenth Flavian's wife reported that latter worked in 1.... and returned late evenings. Ida was reported to be living in New York. On November twenty-ninth mother was living in new apartment. Ida only went on visit to New York and was running a sewing machine in a factory in N.... Edwige was working for last two months. Three youngest boys were in school. Ida and boys were attending a Presbyterian Church. I.M. was not living in home and just visited. On December sixth the minister of the latter church reported that he was trying to bring about reconciliation between parents. Ida was engaged to a childhood friend. Was delaying marriage to help support family. Young man was an assistant pastor of a church in New York. Ida was working piece work at twenty to thirty dollars a week. Ida is a fine girl and sings and teaches a class in church Sunday School. Father, Flavian and the latter's wife were attending an Italian Methodist Church. Mother invited I.M. to dinner on Sunday. After drinking some wine father became excited and made accusations about I.M. and said he didn't want latter in home. Father thereupon left



home, and since April had not contributed more than sixty-four dollars towards support of family. Both father's pastor and children's pastor have tried to bring about a reconciliation. Father will not support children unless he can live at home with mother. Mother was willing on condition that there be no marital relations. L.M. was willing to leave the state if father would pay him one hundred dollars. On January 17, 1929 father said that L.M. was in home when he left. Ministers were still trying to reconcile parents when case was finally closed.

Since 1927 the FWS has had no contact with the family. Also the family has not contacted the OPW for aid. In 1931 Grollo was a runaway to Hartford, Conn. and was sent back home. Said that parents had turned him out. L.M. came to call for Grollo at the Travellers Aid Society. Grollo was interested in music. Had been on way to New York to look for work. Father had deserted and was supposed to be in Detroit. Father's last record is 4-8-29 neglect of wife and minor children. Only other in family that has record is Grollo 7-27-31, larceny common carrier, probation to 1-27-32 dismissed; 4-28-32, gaming, filed. The Catholic Charitable Bureau reports that Grollo threatened to commit suicide in July 1932, if he didn't get a job. Mother was attending Methodist Church, and all the rest of children were attending Protestant Church except Grollo who was a Catholic. Said that mother was against him for being a Catholic. Had been driving a truck and was laid off. Boy was recommended to the Industrial Aid Society. Boy found job delivering telephone books.

The family is apparently self-supporting at present and there have been no further contacts with any social agencies and no further complaints or records for anyone in the family. The Society's work in this case did definitely improve the condition of the children by making it clear



home, and since April had not contributed more than sixty-four dollars towards support of family. Both father's pastor and children's pastor have tried to bring about a reconciliation. Father will not support children unless he can live at home with mother. Mother was willing on condition that there be no marital relations. F.W. was willing to leave the state if father would pay him one hundred dollars. On January 17, 1932 father said that F.W. was in home when he left. Ministers were still trying to reconcile parents when case was finally closed.

Since 1927 the FWS has had no contact with the family. Also the family has not contacted the OPW for aid. In 1931 Grolio was a runaway to Hartford, Conn. and was sent back home. Said that parents had turned him out. F.W. came to call for Grolio at the Travelers Aid Society. Grolio was interested in music. Had been on way to New York to look for work. Father had deserted and was supposed to be in Detroit. Father's last record is 4-8-32 neglect of wife and minor children. Only other in family that has record is Grolio 7-27-31, larceny common carrier, probation to 1-27-33 dismissed; 4-28-32, gaming, fined. The Catholic Charitable Bureau reports that Grolio threatened to commit suicide in July 1932. If he didn't get a job. Mother was attending Methodist Church, and all the rest of children were attending Protestant Church except Grolio who was a Catholic. Said that mother was against him for being a Catholic. Had been driving a truck and was laid off. Boy was recommended to the Industrial Aid Society. Boy found job delivering telephone books.

The family is apparently self-supporting at present and there have been no further contacts with any social agencies and no further complaints or records for anyone in the family. The Society's work in this case did definitely improve the condition of the children by making it clear



that Society would not tolerate the neglect, physically or morally, of minor children without prosecution and punishment. However nothing was done for the solution of the relationships between the parents. It probably was a job for a psychiatrist anyway and since the parents were very uncooperative nothing much could be done for them. The relationship between the parents ended quite naturally, in permanent separation. They were too uncongenial and unsatisfying to each other to be able to really improve the situation. The father was very insistent in his demands on the mother and since the mother was frigid, largely through fear of further pregnancy there was no solution of this problem except separation of parents until they could, if ever, adjust the question of their marital relationships. Here we have a clear cut example of family failure because of inadequate education for normal sex life and inability of one partner to satisfy the excessive sex demands of the other, because of frigidity and fear of more pregnancies. Parents might well have benefited by a little birth control education.

---

Case XVI. MK.FAMILY

Joseph- fourteen years and two months; Antony- thirteen years; Stanley- nine years and eight months; Stasia(Stella)- eight years and eleven months; Helen- seven years and four months; Josephine- four years; Genevieve- one year and one month.

In this case we have the problem of a feeble-minded mother who was not prevented from having children, or at least such a large family as she had even though she was incapable of bringing them up under salutary control, and with the opportunity to develop the best in them. The father and mother were both Polish by birth and Roman Catholic by religion. Father at the time of referral was working as a tailor's presser at twenty-five dollars per week.



that Society would not tolerate the neglect, physically or morally, of such children without prosecution and punishment. However nothing was done for the solution of the relationship between the parents. It probably was a job for a psychiatrist anyway and since the parents were very uncooperative nothing much could be done for them. The relationship between the parents ended quite naturally, in permanent separation. They were too unemotional and unsatisfying to each other to be able to really improve the situation. The father was very insistent in his demands on the mother and since the mother was timid, largely through fear of further pregnancy there was no solution of this problem except separation of parents until they could, if ever, adjust the question of their marital relationship. Here we have a clear cut example of family failure because of inadequate education for normal sex life and inability of one partner to satisfy the excessive demands of the other, because of timidity and fear of more pregnancies. Parents might well have benefited by a little birth control education.

Case XVI. MR. FAMILY

Joseph - fourteen years and two months; Anthony - thirteen years; Stanley - nine years and eight months; Charles (Stella) - eight years and eleven months; Henry - seven years and four months; Josephine - four years; Beatrice - one year and one month.

In this case we have the problem of a feeble-minded mother who was not prevented from having children, or at least such a large family as she had even though she was incapable of bringing them up under satisfactory control, and with the opportunity to develop the best in them. The father and mother were both Polish by birth and Roman Catholics by religion. Father at the time of referral was working as a tailor's presser at twenty-five dollars per week.



On September 29, 1923 a worker from one of the Catholic Charities made a complaint for the priest in the neighborhood about possibility of father harming boys in neighborhood sexually. No evidence was found to sustain this complaint. On October twenty-fourth mother was uncooperative and hostile. Home was filthy and disorderly. On October thirty-first interpreter for mother reported her as being very unhappy. Father was going around with another woman. Mother would not have medical care for the children. Stella was receiving treatments at home, and baby had running ears but nothing was done to relieve this condition. Baby was also undernourished and home conditions were very bad. On November sixth the Psychopathic Hospital reported that mother was suspicious of father and accuses him of immoral relations with the wife of a friend. On May 28, 1923 mother had been admitted to the hospital in an excited state, and believed she was being pursued, and that people were trying to kill her. Committed to the hospital for ten day observation period when excitement cleared. She was found to be feeble-minded and had a Mental Age of six years and six months. On November ninth it was reported by the district nurse that Stella was cured of impetigo and was back at school. Baby was still untreated. On November fifteenth the agent called at the home with an interpreter and mother was more friendly. Jealous of woman downstairs and believed that she was making advances to father. Father hadn't supported for two weeks. On 12-6-23 the neighboring police captain reported that all seven children in the family were being neglected. Father was in a peculiar state of mind and tried to commit suicide last night by turning on the gas and in the morning by jumping into the Charles River Basin. Both attempts were foiled. Landlord had reported that mother hit father with a stick with nails in it and accused him of relations with insurance for her. Mother refused to



On September 23, 1933 a worker from one of the Catholic  
Charities made a complaint for the priest in the neighborhood about possi-  
bility of father having boys in neighborhood sexually. No evidence was  
found to sustain this complaint. On October twenty-fourth mother was un-  
cooperative and hostile. Room was filthy and disorderly. On October  
thirty-first interpreter for mother reported her as being very unhappy.  
Father was going around with another woman. Mother would not have medical  
care for the children. Stella was receiving treatments at home, and baby  
had running ears but nothing was done to relieve this condition. Baby was  
also underweight and home conditions were very bad. On November ninth  
the Psychopathic Hospital reported that mother was suspicious of father and  
accused him of immoral relations with the wife of a friend. On May 28, 1933  
mother had been admitted to the hospital in an excited state, and believed  
she was being persecuted, and that people were trying to kill her. Committed  
to the hospital for ten day observation period when excitement cleared. She  
was found to be feeble-minded and had a mental age of six years and six  
months. On November ninth it was reported by the district nurse that Stella  
was cured of lupus and was back at school. Baby was still unweaned. On  
November fifteenth the agent called at the home with an interpreter and  
mother was more friendly. Jealous of woman downstairs and believed that  
she was making advances to father. Father hadn't supported for two weeks.  
On 12-8-33 the neighboring police captain reported that all seven children  
in the family were being neglected. Father was in a peculiar state of mind  
and tried to commit suicide last night by turning on the gas and in the  
morning by jumping into the Quaker River Basin. Both attempts were foiled.  
Landlord had reported that mother hit father with a stick with nails in it  
and accused him of relations with insurance for her. Mother refused to



move into a different or better locality largely because she would then have to keep house and children clean. Father was now earning on an average of \$31 a week. Father came to the office on January 24, 1924 and said that

Agent visited home and mother reported that she couldn't take children to the clinic because trouble had come to her. Father had tried to commit suicide. Police reported that father was going to go to home of maternal cousin. This latter cousin said that father has objected to every pregnancy after the third one. Used to drink a lot but had recently improved. Father said it would have been best if he had died. Couldn't stand mother's nagging any longer. Children had not been christened because of father's objections.

On December seventh a maternal aunt agreed to take mother to her home on vacation if children could be placed. Maternal aunt blamed trouble on father. Mother afraid of father and understands her abnormality. Catholic Charitable Bureau agreed to take the children. The Department of Mental Diseases refused to admit mother to school for the feeble-minded but said that they would furnish community supervision. Maternal cousins began to complain that they couldn't keep father much longer because of lack of room. On December eleventh home situation was as bad as ever. Mother refused to accept plan for her vacation. Mother said that she wanted relief and woman to help with housework. Mother wanted father to support through the Society. Mother wouldn't allow father to return home. Father was willing to support mother. On December fifteenth it was reported that children had been christened. When father told mother that he was only making \$27 a week and that he would pay through Society, mother threatened to use broom on agent. Father was now at home. Father agreed to sign application for mother's admittance to Waverley. Mother was later cordial to agent when



move into a different or better locality largely because she would then have to keep house and children clean. Father was now earning on an average of \$21 a week.

Agent visited home and mother reported that she couldn't take children to the clinic because trouble had come to her. Father had tried to commit suicide. Police reported that father was going to go to home of maternal cousin. This latter cousin said that father has objected to every pregnancy after the third one. Used to drink a lot but had recently improved. Father said it would have been best if he had died. Cousin's aunt mother's was saying any longer. Children had not been disturbed because of father's objections.

On December seventh a maternal aunt agreed to take mother to her home on vacation if children could be placed. Maternal aunt planned trouble on father. Mother afraid of father and understands her abnormality. Catholic Charitable Bureau agreed to take the children. The Department of Mental Diseases refused to admit mother to school for the feeble-minded but said that they would furnish community supervision. Maternal cousin began to complain that they couldn't keep father much longer because of lack of room. On December eleventh home situation was as bad as ever. Mother refused to accept plan for her vacation. Mother said that she wanted relief and woman to help with housework. Mother wanted father to support through the Society. Mother wouldn't allow father to return home. Father was willing to support mother. On December fifteenth it was reported that children had been christened. When father told mother that he was only making \$27

a week and that he would pay through Society, mother threatened to sue him on agent. Father was now at home. Father agreed to sign application for mother's admittance to Hospital. Mother was later carried to hospital when



latter left Christmas gifts for children. The Catholic Charitable Bureau agreed to furnish a new set of clothing for the children.

Father came to the office on January 3, 1924 and said that mother had been taken to doctor by maternal aunt and was reported to be worse. The next day the home was found in disordered condition. However there was a good fire and plenty of food in the house. Children's heads were improved. Baby was wrapped in a blanket and some dirty clothing. Mother lost clothing sent by the Catholic Charitable Bureau(CCB). Refused to take children to the clinic. Father and mother were not on speaking terms. On January eleventh father was nervous and excited. Father and mother had quarrelled and latter threw milk bottle at him which had barely missed him. They had been quarrelling over money matters. Mother took sixteen dollars from under his pillow and accused him of spending money on other women. Mother spoke of father's immoralities in front of the children who were troubled by them. Father complained that Stanley was out at all hours and that mother didn't allow him to discipline latter. Father couldn't stand mother any longer and asked that children be placed and he would support them. Judge persuaded father to wait a week before making complaint of neglect. On January fifteenth children were doing well in school. The Department of Mental Diseases promised an investigation of the family situation. Agent visited on January seventeenth and found children had bread and bologna sausage for lunch. House was dirty and disorderly. Children were fighting. Stanley said he wanted his brother Tony to go with him to "take things". Sled was found in house which didn't belong to them. Stanley truanted from school because he didn't like to study. On Common with other truants. Department of Mental Diseases reported on January eighteenth that mother would be recommended for Waverley or Wrentham School



latter left Christmas gifts for children. The Catholic Charitable Bureau agreed to furnish a new set of clothing for the children.

Father came to the office on January 3, 1928 and said that mother had been taken to doctor by maternal aunt and was reported to be worse. The next day the home was found in disordered condition. However there was a good fire and plenty of food in the house. Children's heads were improved. Baby was wrapped in a blanket and some dirty clothing.

Mother lost clothing sent by the Catholic Charitable Bureau (CCB). Refused to take children to the clinic. Father and mother were not on speaking terms. On January eleventh father was nervous and excited. Father and mother had quarrelled and latter threw milk bottle at him which had nearly missed him. They had been quarrelling over money matter. Mother took sixteen dollars from under his pillow and accused him of spending money on other women. Mother spoke of father's immorality in front of the children who were troubled by them. Father complained that Stanley was out all night and that mother didn't allow him to discipline latter. Father couldn't stand mother any longer and asked that children be placed and he would support them. Judge persuaded father to wait a week before making complaint of neglect. On January fifteenth children were doing well in school. The Department of Mental Diseases promised an investigation of the family situation. Agent visited on January seventeenth and found children had bread and butter sausage for lunch. House was dirty and disorderly. Children were fighting. Stanley said he wanted his brother Tony to go with him to "take things". Elsie was found in house which didn't belong to them. Stanley returned from school because he didn't like to study. On January with other tyrants. Department of Mental Diseases reported on January eighteenth that mother would be recommended for Waverley or Wrentham School.



as soon as possible. Father now said that he was leaving home. The Community Health Nurse refused to go to give family further treatment since she had been forcibly ejected by mother. Principal said that Stanley was to go to disciplinary school for truancy. Complaint of neglect was made against all seven children. Father reported on January twenty-fifth that he had left home and gave new address. Mother had chased him out of home. Joseph corroborated father's account of quarrel over money. Mother excited because maternal relatives reported that father was going to commit her to school for feeble-minded and have children placed out. On January twenty-eighth the city alienists refused to sign mother's commitment papers. Didn't feel that Waverley was the place for her and that shock might unbalance her mentally. (One wonders what was the background of these alienists that made them so positive in their opinions.) On January thirty-first Joseph reported that there was enough to eat in the home. Principal again reported that Stanley would have to go to disciplinary session. Maternal aunt had been aiding mother and could no longer do so. No fuel in house at the present and very little to eat, in contrast with Joseph's report. Mother took out a warrant of non-support against father. On February first father was arrested on this warrant. On February sixth mother still had no aid or support. Two bottles of milk, some bread in home, and a little bit of coal. On February seventh mother failed to appear in court for the second time and father was ordered to pay at least \$7 a week through the probation officer though no specific finding was made in the case of non-support. On March twelfth Tony and Stanley were reported as being in some trouble according to Principal of school who thought boys were brought to the court. Mother however said that all was well and that they were in school. Mother was now referred to the OPW and mother was given \$15 by latter but didn't report for



as soon as possible. Father now said that he was leaving home. The  
Community Health Nurse refused to go to give family further treatment since  
she had been forcibly ejected by mother. Principal said that Stanley was  
to go to disciplinary school for truancy. Complaint of neglect was made  
against all seven children. Father reported on January twenty-fifth that  
he had left home and gave new address. Mother had chased him out of home.  
Joseph corroborated father's account of quarrel over money. Mother excited  
because maternal relatives reported that father was going to commit her to  
school for feeble-minded and have children placed out. On January twenty-  
fifth the city alienists refused to sign mother's commitment papers. When  
learned that Waverley was the place for her and that shock might subside her  
mentally. (One wonders what was the background of these alienists that made  
them so positive in their opinions.) On January thirty-first Joseph re-  
ported that there was enough to eat in the home. Principal again reported  
that Stanley would have to go to disciplinary session. Maternal aunt had  
been aiding mother and could no longer do so. No fuel in house at the  
present and very little to eat, in contrast with Joseph's report. Mother  
took out a warrant of non-support against father. On February first father  
was arrested on this warrant. On February sixth mother still had no aid or  
support. Two bottles of milk, some bread in home, and a little bit of coal.  
On February seventh mother failed to appear in court for the second time and  
father was ordered to pay at least \$7 a week through the probation officer.  
Though no specific finding was made in the case of non-support. On March  
twelfth Tony and Stanley were reported as being in some trouble according to  
Principal of school who thought boys were brought to the court. Mother now  
ever said that all was well and that they were in school. Mother was now  
referred to the CPW and mother was given \$15 by father but didn't report for



more when father gave one of the boys \$10. On February fourteenth Stanley and Tony were brought to the office for causing much trouble around the North Station. They were stealing and committing immoral acts. Both men and girls were involved. Five counts of sodomy were preferred against one of the men of the city of M...., but latter was freed when his counsel confused the boys in giving testimony. In the Juvenile Court boys told stories involving many boys. Also a complaint of delinquency(runaway) was made against Stanley and Tony. Stanley was now in the Temporary Home of the Society. On February sixteenth Tony didn't appear in court and Joseph said that latter and Stanley had quarrelled and separated. Tony didn't return in time for court. Mother was angry because she received no support from the court and blamed the agent. Mother probably hadn't used seven dollar check mailed her because she didn't know what it was or what to do with it. (Even such facts were not enough in the eyes of the alienists to commit the mother where she rightfully belonged.)

On February fifteenth Stanley reported to the court about unnatural acts with an Italian man and how he had brought latter new victims each time he went to see him. He reported that he and Tony had been mixed up with this man, another man, and some girls in a very complicated sex affair that included a large number of other boys as well. On February seventeenth police forced mother to allow Tony to go to the Temporary Home as per court order. Tony gave further evidence in court corroborating Stanley's evidence.

Mother was still having trouble in straightening out the business of receiving the checks from the court on February nineteenth. Father reported that he was paying regularly and asked about mother's condition. Wanted to see Tony and Stanley. Joseph was told to bring mother's



were when father gave one of the boys \$10. On February fourteenth Stanley and Tony were brought to the office for causing much trouble around the North Station. They were attending and committing immoral acts. Both men and girls were involved. Five counts of sodomy were preferred against one of the men of the city of M...., but father was freed when his counsel coun- fused the boys in giving testimony. In the Juvenile Court boys told stories involving many boys. Also a complaint of delinquency (runaway) was made against Stanley and Tony. Stanley was now in the Temporary Home of the Society. On February sixteenth Tony didn't appear in court and Joseph said that father and Stanley had quarrelled and separated. Tony didn't return in time for court. Mother was angry because she received no support from the court and blamed the agent. Mother probably hadn't used seven dollar check mailed her because she didn't know what it was or what to do with it. (Even such facts were not enough in the eyes of the alienists to commit the mother where she rightfully belonged.)

On February fifteenth Stanley reported to the court about unnatural acts with an Italian man and how he had brought latter new victims each time he went to see him. He reported that he and Tony had been mixed up with this man, another man, and some girls in a very complicated sex affair that included a large number of other boys as well. On February seventeenth police forced mother to allow Tony to go to the Temporary Home as per court order. Tony gave father evidence in court corroborating Stanley's evidence.

Mother was still having trouble in straightening out the business of receiving the checks from the court on February nineteenth. Father reported that he was paying regularly and asked about mother's condi- tion. Wanted to see Tony and Stanley. Joseph was told to bring mother's



check so that agent might cash it. On February twentieth Stanley reported sex immoralities with one of the girls involved on same day of trial. Stanley and Tony were moved from the Temporary Home as this girl and her siblings were coming to the home by order of the court. On February twenty-first, Tony and Stanley were sent to farm which Judge had for such boys, and Dr. Healy reported all glands swollen on boys bodies, and that he thought that they were diseased despite negative Wassermann. The railroad police now asked for more rapid action on the whole situation since the matter was getting very serious. A very large neighboring settlement house was contacted and they promised to offer supervised recreation for the children involved. On February twenty-seventh Dr. Healy and Dr. Bronner of the Judge Baker Guidance Centre reported that they had no specific suggestions to make. Mother was now less excited, though house was disordered and baby was scantily clothed. Mother insisted that she had received no check but Helen refuted mother's statement and said that only today had she received \$15 from the OPW. On February twenty-eighth all the children in the court case were seen separately and they corroborated each other's statements of the immorality that had gone on. Three of the boys were found to be delinquent. Judge asked that Tony and Stanley be given medical examination before going to his farm. On February twenty-ninth agent went to the various leaders of the community and requested their cooperation in dealing with this social problem.

On March twenty-second case of non-support against father was dismissed. Mother was living in rooms almost air-tight and mother said that she had received no money. OPW reported fifteen dollar allowance to mother week before. On April second, the Probation Officer reported that father was behind seven weeks. Father agreed voluntarily to pay ten dollars



check so that agent might catch it. On February twentieth Stanley reported  
was interviewed with one of the girls involved on same day of trial.  
Stanley and Tony were moved from the Temporary Home as this girl and her  
siblings were coming to the home by order of the court. On February twenty-  
first, Tony and Stanley were sent to farm which Judge had for each boy, and  
Mr. Healy reported all siblings swollen on boys bodies, and that he thought  
that they were diseased despite negative Wassermann. The railroad police  
now asked for more rapid action on the whole situation since the matter was  
getting very serious. A very large neighboring settlement house was con-  
tacted and they promised to offer supervised recreation for the children  
involved. On February twenty-seventh Dr. Healy and Dr. Brown of the  
Judge Baker Guidance Centre reported that they had no specific suggestions  
to make. Mother was now less excited, though house was disordered and baby  
was scantily clothed. Mother insisted that she had received no check but  
Helen related mother's statement and said that only today had she received  
\$15 from the OPW. On February twenty-eighth all the children in the court-  
house were seen separately and they corroborated each other's statements of  
the immorality that had gone on. Three of the boys were found to be delin-  
quent. Judge asked that Tony and Stanley be given medical examination be-  
fore going to his farm. On February twenty-ninth agent went to the various  
leaders of the community and requested their cooperation in dealing with  
this social problem.  
On March twenty-second case of non-support against father  
was dismissed. Mother was living in room almost air-tight and mother said  
that she had received no money. OPW reported fifteen dollar allowance to  
mother week before. On April second, the Probation Officer reported that  
father was doing seven weeks. Father agreed voluntarily to pay ten dollars



a week and fifteen dollars each month for rent. On March fifteenth Italian man who had led the sex affair of all the children was readmitted to the one of the State Mental Hospitals with diagnosis of general paresis. On April twenty-eighth Principal reported that Stella was truanting from school, and blamed it on mother's lack of control. CCB reported on May third that they were willing to clean up home and pay expenses and see what would happen. Mother reported on May fifth that she knew that Helen and Stella were truanting but that she could do nothing since Joseph hadn't the time to take them to school each day. House was in disorder and children dirty. Air was very stale and close, and home had little food in it. Mother was however happier than ever before. Father reported that he had bought shoes for Helen and Stella, but that soon one of the pairs of shoes were gone and they continued to truant. Janitor reported on May fourteenth that he thought mother was crazy and that she was driving away a good father. Mother buys recklessly in his shop and seems to be uncontrolled. Mother was using vile language and treats children badly, and neglects home. Neighbors reported same about mother's neglect of home. Mother now refused to come to court and didn't come till May twenty-third. Helen, Josephine, Stella, and Genevieve were arraigned before the court. City alienist advised that mother be sent for observation and said he didn't believe she knew how to care for the children. Another alienist testified to fact that mother probably had some mental illness. Neighbor testified to fact that mother attacked father and that she used vile and abusive language and actions. Mother was seen by neighbor running about room laughing and tossing baby in air and talking to herself at the same time. Children were always dirty. Probation Officer reported that father paid support regularly to court even though it is on voluntary basis. Told of fact that home was



173

a week and fifteen dollars each month for rent. On March fifteenth Italian  
man who had led the sex affair of all the children was resubmitted to the  
one of the State Mental Hospitals with diagnosis of general paresis. On  
April twenty-eighth Principal reported that Stella was transferring from school  
and blamed it on mother's lack of control. GOS reported on May third that  
they were willing to clean up home and pay expenses and see what would  
happen. Mother reported on May fifth that she knew that Helen and Stella  
were pregnant but that she could do nothing since Joseph hadn't the time  
to take them to school each day. House was in disorder and children dirty.  
Air was very stale and close, and home had little food in it. Mother was  
however happier than ever before. Father reported that he had bought shoes  
for Helen and Stella, but that soon one of the pairs of shoes were gone and  
they continued to steal. Janitor reported on May fourteenth that he  
thought mother was crazy and that she was driving away a good father.  
Mother buys recklessly in his shop and seems to be uncontrolled. Mother  
was using vile language and treating children badly, and neglecting home. Neigh-  
bor reported same about mother's neglect of home. Mother now refused to  
come to court and didn't come till May twenty-third. Helen, Josephine,  
Stella, and Genevieve were arraigned before the court. City alientist ob-  
served that mother be sent for observation and said he didn't believe she  
knew how to care for the children. Another alientist testified to fact that  
mother probably had some mental illness. Neighbor testified to fact that  
mother attacked father and that she used vile and abusive language and  
actions. Mother was seen by neighbor running about room laughing and toss-  
ing baby in air and talking to herself at the same time. Children were  
always dirty. Probation Officer reported that father said support regularly  
to court even though it is on voluntary basis. Told of fact that home was



in wretched condition and that mother didn't even know enough to come to court for her money. The attendance officer reported that the children were truanting with mother's knowledge and that latter had no control over them. CCB to get new rooms for mother to give her a fresh start.

On May twenty-eighth CCB agreed to place Stella and Helen. Father was to pay towards their support. Tony and Stanley were placed by the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Father only to pay for clothing for boys and not for their board. On September sixteenth probation officer reported that Tony was home on probation, and that home was in very wretched condition. Children very much neglected. On September nineteenth mother resisted police and agents and would not allow them to take children to court. On September twenty-fourth probation officer, two agents, and two police officers succeeded in taking children to court. On November fourth mother was arrested for striking father and was sent to the Psychopathic Hospital on observation, and later committed to State Hospital.

On January 29, 1925 father was reported destitute and lonely. On March 24, 1925 Joseph was being boarded by same woman as boarded father. Living in sparsely furnished but well kept home. Father had new job and said that he had visited Stanley's foster home and that Joseph didn't want to go there. Joseph has many friends where he is and wouldn't want to lose them. On March thirtieth mother was reported comfortable and quiet in hospital. Doctors recommended stay of mother's commitment. Mother was begging father to take her home. Antonio was now in a Truancy School and father showed letters from latter. Father visited children in the HDCC. On April 8, 1925, Joseph's foster mother reported the boy to be well behaved and helps her a great deal. Is quiet and reads a lot. Joseph insisted on going to school in Boston rather than change to suburban school near his home.



in wretched condition and that mother didn't even know enough to come to court for her money. The attendance officer reported that the children were traveling with mother's knowledge and that father had no control over them. CCB to get new room for mother to give her a fresh start.

On May twenty-eighth CCB agreed to place Stella and Helen. Father was to pay towards their support. Tony and Stanley were placed by the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Father only to pay for clothing for boys and not for their board. On September sixteenth probation officer reported that Tony was home on probation, and that home was in very wretched condition. Children very much neglected. On September nineteenth mother requested police and agents and would not allow them to take children to court. On September twenty-fourth probation officer, two agents, and two police officers succeeded in taking children to court. On November fourth mother was arrested for striking father and was sent to the Psychopathic Hospital on observation, and later committed to State Hospital.

On January 29, 1923 father was reported hostile and lonely. On March 24, 1923 Joseph was being boarded by same woman as boarded father. Living in sparsely furnished but well kept home. Father had new job and said that he had visited Stanley's foster home and that Joseph didn't want to go there. Joseph has many friends where he is and wouldn't want to leave them. On March thirtieth mother was reported comfortable and quiet in hospital. Doctors recommended stay of mother's commitment. Mother was begging father to take her home. Antonio was now in a primary school and father showed letters from latter. Father visited children in the HMOG. On April 8, 1923, Joseph's foster mother reported the boy to be well behaved and helps her a great deal. Is quiet and reads a lot. Joseph insisted on going to school in Boston rather than change to suburban school near his home.



Father was working and paying room and board for both. Father fond of Joseph and bought all he could afford for latter. Joseph looked well and home was clean. Five other children in home besides Joseph. On September 23, 1926 it was reported that father had moved and was living with mother who was released from Hospital about year ago. Antonio released from Truancy School and both Joseph and Tony were now at home. Father was working as tailor. Other children with HDCC. Father was not paying board as per agreement. Both boys were now working. Father reported that mother was often disturbed. Mother was giving fair care to the children.

In September of 1927 parents were living in same house. Joseph and Antonio were still at home and doing well. Stanley was not doing well and was placed with the Children's Friend Society in June. Stella was in the HDCC. Helen was allowed to return home 8-13-27 and Josephine 9-24-27.

In February of 1928 father was reported as sleeping with thirteen year old daughter and mother was objecting. Antonio was on parole from the Lyman School. Stella reported in March that father attempted intercourse with both Josephine and herself. Also that he mishandled them. Josephine reported that father was practicing perversions with her and that she and her sister were witnessing relations between their parents. Mother had no control over father's behavior. Mother now had a nine week old baby. Antonio was working at \$15 a week. Joseph was also working and contributing to the family. Father was out of work all winter. The court therefore ordered surrender warrants for both children. On March thirty-first Josephine and Stella were gotten with much difficulty and Josephine found it hard to testify in front of father. Father was arrested and put in jail and children were taken to the Temporary Home. Society doctor got confession from children that father made them practice perversions. Judge



Father was working and paying room and board for both. Father told of Joseph and bought all he could afford for father. Joseph looked well and home was clean. Five other children in home besides Joseph. On September 23, 1936 it was reported that father had moved and was living with mother who was released from Hospital about year ago. Antonio released from Truancy School and both Joseph and Jerry were now at home. Father was working as tailor. Other children with HBC. Father was not paying board as per agreement. Both boys were now working. Father reported that mother was often disturbed. Mother was giving fair care to the children.

In September of 1937 parents were living in same house. Joseph and Antonio were still at home and doing well. Stanley was not doing well and was placed with the Children's Friend Society in June. Stella was in the HBC. Helen was allowed to return home 8-13-37 and Josephine 8-24-37.

In February of 1938 father was reported as sleeping with thirteen year old daughter and mother was objecting. Antonio was on parole from the Iwan School. Stella reported in March that father attempted intercourse with both Josephine and herself. Also that he misbehaved them. Josephine reported that father was practicing perversion with her and that she and her sister were witnessing relations between their parents. Mother had no control over father's behavior. Mother now had a nine week old baby. Antonio was working at \$15 a week. Joseph was also working and contributing to the family. Father was out of work all winter. The court therefore ordered arrears warrants for both children. On March thirty-first Josephine and Stella were gotten with much difficulty and Josephine found it hard to testify in front of father. Father was arrested and put in jail and children were taken to the Temporary Home. Society doctor got confession from children that father made them practice perversion. Judge



was disturbed over the whole neglect situation. On April second the case was dismissed because the children were such poor witnesses. On June 28, 1929 father asked that Genevieve might be returned. Father was now chronically ill and it was thought best not to return children since father was probably on verge of dying.

Friday. Mother On October 11, 1929 Children's Friend Society reported that they placed Stanley as caddy for the summer, and that he now was home and working for a department store at twelve dollars a week. Judge refused to return Josephine and Helen as per request by Joseph. Father was now suffering with cancer of the throat. In November it was reported that Joseph was not working. He had finished junior high school, but found it hard to get a job as he had no trade. Antonio had had a temporary job at place where Stanley worked, but now worked in shoe factory at seventeen dollars a week which he was giving to father. Stella was now in the special class. Mother at this time was mentally unbalanced and spoke in confused manner. Said that father was trying to kill her because he was spraying poison to kill the roaches in the house. Joseph reported that mother had been quite ill mentally for past few months. Father was to have a tonsillectomy and was having radium treatments but felt no better.

1931 that father On February 13, 1930 parents, Josephine, Stella, Tony, and Joseph were at home. Father had nasal operation and was feeling better. Was still being treated for his cancer trouble. Father didn't want mother committed as he felt he was soon to die and he wanted to keep family together. Mother was wearing a torn dress which exposed her body. Rambled very much in her speech. Joseph was out of work and was discouraged. Tony was still working in a shoe factory. Girls were clean and in good condition. In July it was reported that Stella was still in the special class and Josephine was



was disturbed over the whole neglect situation. On April second the case was dismissed because the children were such poor witnesses. On June 28, 1929 father asked that Genevieve might be returned. Father was now chronically ill and it was thought best not to return children since father was probably on verge of dying.

On October 11, 1929 Children's Friend Society reported that they placed Stanley as candy for the summer, and that he now was home and working for a department store at twelve dollars a week. Judge refused to return Josephine and Helen as per request by Joseph. Father was now suffering with cancer of the throat. In November it was reported that Joseph was not working. He had finished Junior high school, but found it hard to get a job as he had no trade. Antonio had had a temporary job at place where Stanley worked, but now worked in shoe factory at seventeen dollars a week which he was giving to father. Stella was now in the special class. Mother at this time was mentally unbalanced and spoke in confused manner. Said that father was trying to kill her because he was spraying poison to kill the roaches in the house. Joseph reported that mother had been quite ill mentally for past few months. Father was to have a tonsillectomy and was having radium treatments but felt no better.

On February 23, 1930 parents, Josephine, Stella, Tony, and Joseph were at home. Father had nasal operation and was feeling better. Was still being treated for his cancer trouble. Father didn't want mother committed as he felt he was soon to die and he wanted to keep family together. Mother was wearing a torn dress which exposed her body. Raveled very much in her speech. Joseph was out of work and was discouraged. Tony was still working in a shoe factory. Girls were clean and in good condition. In July it was reported that Stella was still in the special class and Josephine was



promoted to the fourth grade, having repeated both the second and third grades. Father had brought Helen home for a visit from her foster home. Father was not receiving regular treatment for throat. Joseph and Tony were working in shoe factory at twelve or thirteen dollars a week and were giving money to father. Stanley was taken away by two policemen on previous Friday. Mother was in a bad mental condition. Was excitable and threatened to kill people. Said that she didn't approve of care given her children. Mother thought that someone had poisoned Helen. Mother was antagonistic and accused father of not supporting family. House was clean but cluttered with clothing. Stella explained the sleeping conditions which seemed satisfactory. Police officer reported that mother rambles and raves when speaking with neighbors who do not mind her knowing her condition. Father made two complaints of stubborn child against Joseph who was now on suspended sentence to the House of Correction. Stanley was also on probation as a stubborn child and had been surrendered by father and suspended sentence to Shirley was continued longer. On July 2, 1930 Stanley was again surrendered and sent to Shirley Industrial School for Boys. Latter was paroled on 11-30-30.

The State Aid and Relief Division reported on February 9, 1931 that father applied for relief in March of 1930. Father was suffering from cancer of the tongue. Mother was somewhat mentally disturbed. The Boston Provident Association, Cooperative Psychiatric Service record, reported that mother was a case of psychosis superimposed on a mild degree of mental defect. Upset because she cannot become pregnant because of father's disease. Has delusions of man coming to her room to distort her body. The doctor felt that mother was not in a bad enough condition to be committed. Father was now syphilitic and had a growth in his throat. Father's



Father was now syphilitic and had a growth in his throat. Father's doctor felt that mother was not in a bad enough condition to be committed. Has delusions of man coming to her room to distort her body. The mental defect. Upset because she cannot become pregnant because of father's disease. Boston Provident Association, Cooperative Psychiatric Service record, reported that mother was a case of psychosis superimposed on a mild degree of from cancer of the tongue. Mother was somewhat mentally disturbed. The 1931 that father applied for relief in March of 1930. Father was suffering The State Aid and Relief Division reported on February 9, was paroled on 11-30-30. again surrendered and sent to Shirley Industrial School for Boys. Father sentence to Shirley was continued longer. On July 2, 1930 Stanley was tion as a stubborn child and had been surrendered by father and suspended suspended sentence to the House of Correction. Stanley was also on probation made two complaints of stubborn child against Joseph who was now on when speaking with neighbors who do not mind her knowing her condition. seemed satisfactory. Police officer reported that mother rambles and raves cluttered with clothing. Stella explained the sleeping conditions which static and accused father of not supporting family. House was clean but then. Mother thought that someone had poisoned Helen. Mother was antagoned to kill people. Said that she didn't approve of care given her child. Friday. Mother was in a bad mental condition. Was excitable and threatened money to father. Stanley was taken away by two policemen on previous working in shoe factory at twelve or thirteen dollars a week and were giving Father was not receiving regular treatment for throat. Joseph and Tony were grades. Father had brought Helen home for a visit from her foster home. promoted to the fourth grade, having repeated both the second and third



condition was diagnosed as paranoid ideas centering mostly around sons. Is cruel and expects sons to support the entire family. Scornful of mother and pushes her around as he would a child. (What is the bearing of this latter on mother's condition and that of the sons' delinquency and supposed stubbornness?) Probably has had effect on their personalities and one feels like surmising on the possibility of at least some of their delinquency being a revolt against father's dominance over them. This also raises the question of how a child such as Joseph who was reported as being a good child, well-behaved and cooperative by his foster mother suddenly becomes stubborn enough to be brought into court and be given a suspended sentence to a penal institution. All this of course raises the question in this case of placing the blame. Does it go back to the fact that the mother's difficulties have had such unwholesome effect on the father as to unbalance him mentally or has the father caused the mother's mental troubles by his lack of understanding and sympathy for her limited mental ability? With the limited evidence at hand it is almost impossible to say. It seems that mother was the first to be unbalanced mentally, but we do not know enough about the father's treatment of her to know whether his conduct towards her brought on her mental illness or whether the mother's mental illness has brought on the father's mental unbalance. One almost has a vicious circle when one begins to surmise on such scanty evidence, and one only realizes more poignantly how criminal it is to allow such people to breed as fast as they do, or to allow them to retain their hold on their children because of lack of material evidence to satisfy the requirements of the court to prove that they are neglected all the time because of the parents' inability to assume the responsibilities inhering in parenthood. But let us proceed with the tale and see how much more damage has been done since, and what the



condition was diagnosed as paranoid ideas centering mostly around sons. Is  
crim and expects sons to support the entire family. Jealous of mother  
and pushes her around as he would a child. (What is the bearing of this  
latter on mother's condition and that of the sons' delinquency and supposed  
stupidity?) Probably has had effect on their personalities and one feels  
like warning on the possibility of at least some of their delinquency  
being a revolt against father's dominance over them. This also raises the  
question of how a child such as Joseph who was reported as being a good  
child, well-behaved and cooperative by his foster mother suddenly becomes  
stubborn enough to be brought into court and be given a suspended sentence  
to a penal institution. All this of course raises the question in this  
case of placing the blame. Does it go back to the fact that the mother's  
difficulties have had such unwholesome effect on the father as to unbalance  
him mentally or has the father caused the mother's mental troubles by his  
lack of understanding and sympathy for her limited mental ability? With the  
limited evidence at hand it is almost impossible to say. It seems that  
mother was the first to be unbalanced mentally, but we do not know enough  
about the father's treatment of her to know whether his conduct towards her  
brought on her mental illness or whether the mother's mental illness has  
brought on the father's mental unbalance. One almost has a vicious circle  
when one begins to surmise on such scanty evidence, and one only realizes  
more poignantly how criminal it is to allow such people to breed as long as  
they do, or to allow them to retain their hold on their children because of  
lack of material evidence to satisfy the requirements of the court to prove  
that they are neglected all the time because of the parents' inability to  
assume the responsibilities inhering in parenthood. But let us proceed with  
the tale and see how much more damage has been done since, and what the



future holds in store for this family and its members.) Father has strong control and will do anything he tells her. Stella was reported as being mentally deficient. Home conditions were not seriously affecting her. Josephine was reported to be a normal child with pleasing manner, and that she was distinctly handicapped by being in the family. Would profit by removal. Baby was reported as needing medical care and seemed to be suffering from anemia.

According to the report from the Juvenile Court, Helen was home from July third to July eleventh and was returned to foster home because of mother's mentally disturbed condition. Lack of parental control was shown by the fact that Stanley had to be sent to Shirley on 7-3-30. Mother was mentally disturbed at time of Helen's visit.

On February 10, 1931, Stella's teacher reported that she was doing quite well in handwork and reading and also in other subjects. Well-behaved and acting as teacher's messenger. Father came to school to ask teacher to see that Stella shouldn't go home with boys. According to test findings, at chronological age of thirteen years and four months she had an I.Q. of 56, and a Mental Age of seven years and six months. Josephine's teacher reported that she was in the third grade. Nice child and never caused trouble. Always was dressed neatly and did neat work. Is backward in reading and on the whole is considered to be slow mentally, though she tries her best. Felt that she needed ungraded fourth grade where she could get more attention.

The baby of the family Catherine, seemed to be pale and was cold. Was up and around playing with toys. Mother appeared to be in same disturbed condition as when mother went to the Cooperative Psychiatric Service. Mother said that father reports that Helen hadn't a proper foster



future holds in store for this family and its members. Father has strong control and will do anything he tells her. Stella was reported as being mentally deficient. Home conditions were not seriously affecting her. Josephine was reported to be a normal child with pleasing manner, and that she was distinctly handicapped by being in the family. Would profit by removal. Baby was reported as needing medical care and seemed to be suffering from anemia.

According to the report from the Juvenile Court, Helen was home from July third to July eleventh and was returned to foster home because of mother's mentally disturbed condition. Lack of parental control was shown by the fact that Stanley had to be sent to Shipley on 7-8-30. Mother was mentally disturbed at time of Helen's visit.

On February 10, 1931, Stella's teacher reported that she was doing quite well in handwriting and reading and also in other subjects. Well-behaved and acting as teacher's messenger. Father came to school to ask teacher to see that Stella shouldn't go home with Vey. According to test findings, at chronological age of thirteen years and four months she had an I.Q. of 86, and a Mental Age of seven years and six months. Josephine's teacher reported that she was in the third grade. Nice child and never caused trouble. Always was dressed neatly and did neat work. Is backward in reading and on the whole is considered to be slow mentally, though she tries her best. Felt that she needed ungraded fourth grade where she could get more attention.

The baby of the family Catherine, seemed to be pale and was cold. Was up and around playing with toys. Mother appeared to be in same disturbed condition as when mother went to the Cooperative Psychiatric Service. Mother said that father reports that Helen hadn't a proper foster



home. Also complained that she couldn't have another child since father was syphilitic. Father reported to the court that Stanley had returned home and since he had no work he ran away to New York. Hadn't found anything there and returned home. Joseph and Anthony were now working in a shoe factory. Anthony was making \$22 a week and Joseph \$20 a week. Father reported that he still receives throat treatments. On February thirteenth the court didn't feel that Josephine was handicapped enough to warrant removal.

On February 10, 1932, mother reached for butcher's knife and shouted when agent announced what Society she represented. Mother accused Society of bad treatment of the family. Father intervened and asked agent to come to other room. Both Tony and Joseph were not working. Stella was still in the special class and Josephine was in the fourth grade. Stanley left six weeks ago for unknown destination. Helen was now at home and attended parochial school. Is in the seventh grade. Gena(Genevieve) had been placed by the state. Catherine was not at home. Father was still getting treatments and was getting along all right. City was aiding family with the rent. Mother was mentally disturbed according to father since Genevieve's birth. Tony reported that children were attending school regularly.

On August 13, 1934 a worker from the Dispensary came to investigate Society's contact with family. The Dispensary contact was with Tony on August 8, 1934 who come to the clinic with an infectious skin disease. He left home July twenty-fifth because of quarrel with family which was on relief at the time. Father ordered him out. Tony refused to give reason for quarrel. Tony was very bitter towards his family and said that he had contributed to support of latter during past years. Didn't



home. Also complained that she couldn't have another child since father was syphilitic. Father reported to the court that Stanley had returned home and since he had no work he ran away to New York. Helen's found anything there and returned home. Joseph and Anthony were now working in a shoe factory. Anthony was making \$23 a week and Joseph \$20 a week. Father reported that he still receives throat treatments. On February thirteenth the court didn't feel that Josephine was handicapped enough to warrant re-novel.

On February 10, 1932, mother reached for father's knife and shouted when agent announced what Society she represented. Mother accused Society of bad treatment of the family. Father intervened and asked agent to come to other room. Both Tony and Joseph were not working. Stella was still in the special class and Josephine was in the fourth grade. Stanley left six weeks ago for unknown destination. Helen was now at home and attended parochial school. Is in the seventh grade. Gene(Genevieve) had been placed by the state. Catherine was not at home. Father was still getting treatments and was getting along all right. City was aiding family with the rent. Mother was mentally disturbed according to father since Genevieve's birth. Tony reported that children were attending school regu-larly.

On August 12, 1934 a worker from the Dispensary came to investigate Society's contact with family. The Dispensary contact was with Tony on August 8, 1934 who came to the clinic with an infectious skin disease. He left home July twenty-fifth because of quarrel with family which was on relief at the time. Father ordered him out. Tony refused to give reason for quarrel. Tony was very bitter towards his family and said that he had contributed to support of father during past years. Didn't



plan to return home. Is a leather worker by trade, and is unemployed at present. Living with a chum till recently when he had to move and had had to sleep on park benches and the like. Went to the OPW for aid and it was suggested that he go to Tewksbury. Had positive Darkfield and rapid Hinton at the Dispensary on August 1, 1934. Therefore he was sent to Tewksbury. On November 22, 1934 patient was reported discharged from Tewksbury on September tenth. Resumed treatment at the Dispensary, and is reporting regularly. Industrial Aid was now interested in his case. Not infectious anymore, and case was closed to the Industrial Aid. The OPW reported that Stella was working at \$12 a week ERA. Welfare was paying rent of family of \$15 a month, and contributing shoes, clothes, etc. Stella and her father were reported as being cooperative in carrying out instructions given by the OPW. The rest of the family were reported as being not very bright and easily led and somewhat off mentally. Mother was now home, but had been a patient at ..... State Hospital. Both the mother and father have been patients at Tewksbury.

Agent of the Society who had treated case reported that family was still in hopeless condition and that children who are still removed (Genevieve) will probably not be returned. All cases but those of Josephine and Genevieve have been filed as children have reached limit of ages handled by the Juvenile Court.

Tony's record is as follows:

- 2-16-24 Runaway
- 10-10-24 Larceny
- 1- 9-25 Surrendered to Lyman
- 12-26-29 Drunk
- 5- 8-34 Drunk
- 7-25-34 Trespass

Joseph's record is as follows:

- 1-16-30 Stubborn and disobedient
- 4- 4-33 Trespass
- 11- 3-33 Trespass



plan to return home. Is a leather worker by trade, and is unemployed at present. Living with a woman still recently when he had to move and had had to sleep on park benches and the like. Went to the CPW for aid and it was suggested that he go to Tewksbury. Had positive Darrfield and paid Kinton at the Dispensary on August 1, 1934. Therefore he was sent to Tewksbury.

On November 22, 1934 patient was reported discharged from Tewksbury on September tenth. Resumed treatment at the Dispensary, and is reporting regularly. Industrial Aid was now interested in his case. Not infectious anymore, and case was closed to the Industrial Aid. The CPW reported that Stella was working at \$12 a week WMA. Welfare was paying rent of family of \$15 a month, and contributing shoes, clothes, etc. Stella and her father were reported as being cooperative in carrying out instructions given by the CPW. The rest of the family were reported as being not very bright and easily led and somewhat off mentally. Mother was now home, but had been a patient at ..... State Hospital. Both the mother and father have been patients at Tewksbury.

Agent of the Society who had treated case reported that family was still in hopeless condition and that children who are still removed (Genevieve) will probably not be returned. All cases but those of Josephine and Genevieve have been filed as children have reached limit of ages handled by the Juvenile Court.

Tony's record is as follows:

2-18-34 Runaway  
10-10-34 Larceny  
1- 9-35 Surrendered to Woman  
12-26-35 Drunk  
3- 8-36 Drunk  
7-25-36 Trespass

Joseph's record is as follows:

1-15-30 Steal from and disobedient  
4- 4-33 Trespass  
11- 3-33 Trespass



Stanley's record is as follows:

3-27-30 Stubborn and disobedient

6- 8-30 Surrendered to Shirley

11-30-30 Shirley

no further record since now out of state.

Juvenile Court reported that Genevieve was still placed (March 1935) with the HDCC. Is very well, happy and bright in school.

Stanley was placed in many fine homes for years under his probation officer and others, but was failure when he returned to his very inadequate home situation.

The Boys Parole Department reports the following on Stanley's history. Stanley was committed to Shirley on 6-28-30 as stubborn child. Boy had grammar school education. There was a record of masturbation. Alienist reported mother not insane, but psychotic and not able to care for children who were therefore neglected. Stanley was paroled on 11-30-30 and lived with family. Supervised on parole till 8-10-31 when he ran away from home. On 8-20-32 card was received from him from Los Angeles, California. On 10-30-33 the probation department of the latter city reported that Stanley was before the Juvenile Court of that City for theft of an automobile and driving without owners consent. On December 14, 1933 a report came from private person from same city that Stanley was living at his home and working for his food and lodging.

On August 30, 1934 father stated that the boy was out of the state. No change in home conditions. Still very bad. On July 24, 1934 it was reported that Stanley had adopted an Americanized alias. Joseph was on stubborn child probation, Antonio on Lyman School parole, Stella was working, Helen and Genevieve with the HDCC, and Josephine at home.

The writer has given all these reports in such detail in order to illustrate the fact that disorganization is still the descriptive



Stanley's record is as follows:  
 3-27-30 Stubborn and disobedient  
 8-8-30 Surrendered to Shirley  
 11-30-30 Shirley  
 no further record since now out of state.

Juvenile Court reported that Genevieve was still placed

(March 1935) with the HCC. Is very well, happy and bright in school.  
 Stanley was placed in many fine homes for years under his probation officer  
 and others, but was failed when he returned to his very inadequate home  
 situation.

The Boys Parole Department reports the following on  
 Stanley's history. Stanley was committed to Shirley on 8-28-30 as a stubborn  
 child. Boy had grammar school education. There was a record of masturba-  
 tion. Alchemist reported mother not insane, but psychotic and not able to  
 care for children who were therefore neglected. Stanley was paroled on  
 11-30-30 and lived with family. Supervised on parole till 8-10-31 when he  
 ran away from home. On 8-30-32 card was received from him from Los Angeles,  
 California. On 10-30-32 the probation department of the latter city re-  
 ported that Stanley was before the Juvenile Court of that city for theft  
 of an automobile and driving without owner's consent. On December 14, 1932  
 a report came from private person from same city that Stanley was living  
 at his home and working for his food and lodging.

On August 30, 1934 father stated that the boy was out of  
 the state. No change in home conditions. Still very bad. On July 24, 1934  
 it was reported that Stanley had adopted an Americanized alias. Joseph was  
 on stubborn child probation, Antonio on Lyman School parole, Stella was  
 working, Helen and Genevieve with the HCC, and Josephine at home.

The writer has given all these reports in such detail in  
 order to illustrate the fact that disorganization is still the descriptive



work that best depicts the family situation as it always has been in the almost eleven and a half years during which the Society has struggled with its unconquerable will to live and unfailing failure to organize properly. From all the evidence one sees that it is not the fault of any one agency that more hasn't been done for this family. In the first place, the law does not make adequate provision to break up such failures of the family. Then there is no agency that can make itself responsible for the whole problem since so many factors enter in to the problems which enfold these nine human beings with all their faults and limitations. Finally what the Society has obviously accomplished with all the handicaps in its way has been the fact that the children have been removed from some of the most desperate situations into which this family has gotten itself at divers times and places, and has thus alleviated the terrible conditions under which society has forced these helpless human beings to live. They are typical of the portion of the population who cannot shift for themselves and must have outside help in order to continue to exist on any sort of a human level. Who is to blame for this problem?, is a question that would well deserve the consideration of an entire thesis and research, and must be left to the imagination of the reader as well as to that of the writer.

#### Case XVII. CN.FAMILY

John H. - \*thirteen years and four months; Margaret - \*eleven years and five months; Isabelle - \*six years and three months; Anna - #ten years and eight months; Helen - #eight years and five months; James - #five years; Susan - #two years and two months.  
 (\* age as of 5-4-08, when first removed)  
 (# age as of 3-17-16, when first removed)

The parents of this family were chronic alcoholics and neglected their home chronically, as well as their children. The case was



work that best depicts the family situation as it always has been in the almost eleven and a half years during which the Society has struggled with its uncomprehending will to live and unwilling failure to organize properly. From all the evidence one sees that it is not the fault of any one agency that more hasn't been done for this family. In the first place, the law does not make adequate provision to break up such families of the family. Then there is no agency that can make itself responsible for the whole problem since so many factors enter in to the problems which enfold these nine human beings with all their faults and limitations. Finally what the Society has obviously accomplished with all the handicaps in its way has been the fact that the children have been removed from some of the most desperate situations into which this family has gotten itself at diverse times and places, and has thus alleviated the terrible conditions under which society has forced these helpless human beings to live. They are typical of the portion of the population who cannot shift for themselves and must have outside help in order to continue to exist on any sort of a human level. Who is to blame for this problem? is a question that would well deserve the consideration of an entire thesis and research, and must be left to the imagination of the reader as well as to that of the writer.

Case XVII. ON FAMILY  
John H. - \*thirteen years and four months; Margaret - eleven years and five months; Isabelle - six years and three months; Anna - ten years and eight months; Helena - eight years and five months; Jane - five years; Harry - two years and two months.  
 (\* age as of 3-4-38, when first removed)  
 (\* age as of 3-15-38, when first removed)

The parents of this family were chronic alcoholics and neglected their home chronically, as well as their children. The case was



active off and on with the Society for a little over twenty-four years, practically a quarter of a century. The parents were Irish and Roman Catholic.

The parents were reported to be drunk by the Chief of Police of the rather fashionable suburb in which the family happened to reside. Father was out of work at this date, May 2, 1908, and the parents were drinking. Home was in filthy condition and children were neglected. Therefore on May 4, 1908, John, Margaret, and Isabelle were placed with the HDCC. Anna and Helen were allowed to remain with mother. Mother was told that home conditions had to be improved before the children could be returned. On June 1, 1908 rooms were repainted, most of furniture was repainted, there was new mattress bought, and there were linens and new quilts on beds. In general, the physical conditions of the home were greatly improved. Father was working as a hack driver at \$12 a week. The new furniture had been bought on the installment plan. On July ninth father was not home in the evening. Mother and children were having supper of bread, tea, and pie. Table was covered with a dirty table cloth and the children as well as the home were dirty and disorderly. Mother's appearance, however, was much improved and father was working steadily. Mother said that parents haven't touched liquor since court trial. Mother blamed disorder in home on sewing. Refused to allow children to go on a vacation. On September 1, 1908 home was clean and mother seemed to be expecting the visit. Family was urged by court to move. On September thirty-first family was in new home which was clean, and mother was pleased with it.

On April 22, 1912, the Chief of Police again reported mother intoxicated and the three younger girls uncared for. Margaret was working in a laundry. On May 23, 1912 it was reported that mother and



active off and on with the Society for a little over twenty-four years, practically a quarter of a century. The parents were Irish and Roman Catholic.

The parents were reported to be drunk by the Chief of Police of the rather fashionable suburb in which the family happened to reside. Father was out of work at this date, May 2, 1908, and the parents were drinking. Home was in filthy condition and children were neglected. Therefore on May 4, 1908, John, Margaret, and Isabelle were placed with the HDCC. Anna and Helen were allowed to remain with mother. Mother was told that home conditions had to be improved before the children could be returned. On June 1, 1908 rooms were repainted, most of furniture was repainted, there was new mattress bought, and there were linens and new quilts on beds. In general, the physical conditions of the home were greatly improved. Father was working as a hack driver at \$12 a week. The new furniture had been bought on the installment plan. On July ninth father was not home in the evening. Mother and children were having supper of bread, tea, and pie. Table was covered with a dirty table cloth and the children as well as the home were dirty and disorderly. Mother's appearance, however, was much improved and father was working steadily. Mother said that parents haven't touched liquor since court trial. Mother blamed disorder in home on sewing. Refused to allow children to go on a vacation. On September 1, 1908 home was clean and mother seemed to be expecting the visit. Family was urged by court to move. On September thirty-first family was in new home which was clean, and mother was pleased with it.

On April 22, 1912, the Chief of Police again reported mother intoxicated and the three younger girls uncared for. Margaret was working in a laundry. On May 23, 1912 it was reported that mother and



father had been arrested for drunkenness on April twenty-second and were on probation for one year. John was complained of as a stubborn child and was on probation from March 25, 1911 to April 20, 1912. This was later extended to June 1, 1912. Margaret was arrested on two charges of larceny of \$30 and \$60 and was on probation from April 15, 1911 to April 20, 1912 and this was extended to July twenty-seventh. Mother reported that this was first drunken spree in four years and promised not to repeat this. John had left to go with a "Wild West Show" the previous year, but was probably now working somewhere in Boston. Father was reported to be sleeping with Anna and Helen in one room, and Isabelle, Margaret, and the baby with mother in another room. Home not very disorderly. On May twenty-ninth home conditions cleared up and improved. On July twelfth everything was back to normal though John was not located yet.

The family could not be located on March 15 of 1913. On October 23, 1915 family's priest reported parents to be drinking and something should be done about this. On November second police asked Society to investigate drinking of parents. Mother admitted that of late she was drinking hard. Father was a laborer in suburb where they had lived previously. Both recently went to the Mission Church to take the pledge against drinking. Mother was afraid to admit drinking to her priest. Agent warned that drinking would have to stop if children were to remain in the home. Landlady reported that parents were trying to improve. Priest asked that mother be watched since he believed that she was chronic alcoholic. On November twenty-second mother was very drunk. Father in same condition. Baby was half-dressed and dirty. Whiskey bottle was on the floor. Beds were unmade. Home was all upset. Children's lunch was not even started by noontime. Mother was again warned. Next day mother's condition was same



181

Father had been arrested for drunkenness on April twenty-second and was on probation for one year. John was complained of as a stubborn child and was on probation from March 25, 1911 to April 20, 1912. This was later extended to June 1, 1912. Margaret was arrested on two charges of larceny of \$30 and \$60 and was on probation from April 15, 1911 to April 20, 1912 and this was extended to July twenty-seventh. Mother reported that this was first drunken spree in four years and promised not to repeat this. John had left to go with a "Wild West Show" the previous year, but was probably now working somewhere in Boston. Father was reported to be sleeping with Anna and Helen in one room, and Isabelle, Margaret, and the baby with mother in another room. Home not very disorderly. On May twenty-ninth home conditions cleared up and improved. On July twelfth everything was back to normal though John was not located yet.

The family could not be located on March 12 of 1913. On October 23, 1913 family's priest reported parents to be drinking and something should be done about this. On November second police asked Society to investigate drinking of parents. Mother admitted that of late she was drinking hard. Father was a laborer in suburb where they had lived previously. Both recently went to the Mission Church to take the pledge against drinking. Mother was afraid to admit drinking to her priest. Agent warned that drinking would have to stop if children were to remain in the home. Landlady reported that parents were trying to improve. Priest asked that mother be watched since he believed that she was chronic alcoholic. On November twenty-second mother was very drunk. Father in same condition. Baby was half-dressed and dirty. Whiskey bottle was on the floor. Beds were unmade. Home was all upset. Children's lunch was not even started by noon time. Mother was again warned. Next day mother's condition was same



and baby was still dirty. On November 26, 1915 parents again took the pledge. Mother was busily cleaning up the mess. Apparently was not drinking. (In this early beginning of case work in this agency, we see the workers typically preoccupied with symptoms and apparently not paying any attention to causes. It never seems to have occurred to them to ask why the parents drank. All that seemed to be important was to have parents show outward obedience to the word of the law and not to the spirit of temperance. Warnings were handed out wholesale apparently, but no constructive advice seems to have been given. At least the case records show no activity of such a nature as study of the family situation to discover causes for the symptoms.) In December conditions were reported to be greatly improved. Home was in good condition and so were the children.

In February of 1916, mother was reported by anonymous complainant to be drinking heavily again. Mother was very drunk. John had just returned from Canada where he was a brakeman for the Canadian Grand Trunk Railroad. Appeared to be very decent chap and was ashamed of parents. Was working on ash team at \$15 a week until winter would break when he planned to return to the railroad. Later mother was reported as improved. In March mother again showed signs of drinking and home was disordered. Father was in court for drunkenness and assault and battery on landlady. Father was sentenced to six months House of Correction on assault and battery charge for badly bruising landlady, and two months besides for drunkenness. John was now found in home to be very drunk and apparently had succumbed to debilitating home atmosphere. The children were only partly dressed and were truanting from school. Mother staggered into room, admitted drunkenness, and said she was in despair. On March 17, 1916 Isabelle, Anna, Helen, James, Susan were committed to the HDCC as neglected children.



and baby was still dirty. On November 26, 1915 parents again took the  
 pledge. Mother was daily cleaning up the mess. Apparently was not drink-  
 ing. (In this early beginning of case work in this agency, we see the workers  
 typically preoccupied with symptoms and apparently not paying any attention  
 to causes. It never seems to have occurred to them to ask why the parents  
 drank. All that seemed to be important was to have parents show outward  
 obedience to the word of the law and not to the spirit of temperance. Warn-  
 ings were handed out wholesale apparently, but no constructive advice seems  
 to have been given. At least the case records show no activity of such a  
 nature as study of the family situation to discover causes for the symptoms.)  
 In December conditions were reported to be greatly improved. Home was in  
 good condition and so were the children.

In February of 1916, mother was reported by anonymous com-  
 plaint to be drinking heavily again. Mother was very drunk. John had  
 just returned from Canada where he was a brakeman for the Canadian Grand  
 Trunk Railroad. Appeared to be very decent chap and was ashamed of parents.  
 Was working on cash team at \$15 a week until winter would break when he  
 planned to return to the railroad. Later mother was reported as improved.  
 In March mother again showed signs of drinking and home was disordered.  
 Father was in court for drunkenness and assault and battery on landlady.  
 Father was sentenced to six months House of Correction on assault and  
 battery charge for badly bruising landlady, and two months besides for  
 drunkenness. John was now found in home to be very drunk and apparently  
 had succumbed to debilitating home atmosphere. The children were only part-  
 ly dressed and were truant from school. Mother staggered into room, ad-  
 mitted drunkenness, and said she was in despair. On March 17, 1916 Isabelle  
 Anna, Helen, James, Susan were committed to the HDCC as neglected children.



On October 4, 1916 father was reported to be at Concord Reformatory and mother had just left House of the Good Shepherd on September third, but was not considered fit as yet to have children returned. On March 14, 1918 parents were living in new home in Boston. Had bought seventy-three dollars worth of furniture for which they had already paid thirty-eight dollars. Parents were working at chocolate factory and their combined earnings equalled about thirty-two dollars per week. Father said he wasn't drinking unless he was arrested for some offence by the police. Father's mind seemed to be affected by drinking and he was constantly interrupted by mother. Isabelle was in the country and was doing well. Mother agreed finally that children were better off placed out and that latter shouldn't be returned until they lived in better locality and had their furniture all paid up. In October father asked to have children for Christmas and was told that if he wanted them he would have to move to better locality before then, and make application for same. In October of 1919 parents were again in court and were anxious to have the children. Both looked well, and father produced pay envelopes showing that he was earning about \$30 a week on average in chocolate company. Mother was earning between \$8 and \$12 a week in same factory. Had good furniture and few hundred dollars in the bank(\$570 plus). Called for children several times and made appearance of being respectable and sincere. Father and mother occupied four room tenement at \$12 a month, and which was in good condition. John and Margaret were now married and were living in New York. Mother said that she hadn't drunk anything for three years and that father only had weak beer. In December mother reported that Isabelle was doing well at home and she wanted another child returned. Isabelle was working for a speedometer company at \$14 a week. She had worked a while for the chocolate company.



On October 4, 1918 father was reported to be at Concord Rectory and mother had just left House of the Good Shepherd on September third, but was not considered fit as yet to have children returned. On March 14, 1918 parents were living in new home in Boston. Had bought seventy-three dollars worth of furniture for which they had already paid thirty-eight dollars. Parents were working at chocolate factory and their combined earnings equalled about thirty-two dollars per week. Father said he wasn't drinking unless he was arrested for some offence by the police. Father's mind seemed to be affected by drinking and he was constantly interrupted by mother. Isabelle was in the country and was doing well. Mother agreed finally that children were better off placed out and that father shouldn't be returned until they lived in better locality and had their furniture all paid up. In October father asked to have children for Christmas and was told that if he wanted them he would have to move to better locality before then, and make application for same. In October of 1918 parents were again in court and were anxious to have the children. Both looked well, and father produced pay envelopes showing that he was earning about \$30 a week on average in chocolate company. Mother was earning between \$8 and \$12 a week in same factory. Had good furniture and few hundred dollars in the bank (\$270 plus). Called for children several times and made appearance of being respectable and sincere. Father and mother occupied four room tenement at \$12 a month, and which was in good condition. John and Margaret were now married and were living in New York. Mother said that she hadn't drunk anything for three years and that father only had weak beer. In December mother reported that Isabelle was doing well at home and she wanted another child returned. Isabelle was working for a speedometer company at \$14 a week. She had worked a while for the chocolate company.



Father was working continuously till the time of the sugar shortage caused the factory to shut down. Agent promised that more children would be returned as mother improved in behavior.

In October 1921 mother reported that she went to the HDCC repeatedly and felt that her request for children was not being heeded. On October sixth Anna was reported returned and probably Helen on probationary period. Father was recently at the HDCC and caused great disturbance. Superintendent felt that owing to home conditions children should be returned singly. Agent told mother that Isabelle had first caused some trouble but later improved. Mother was satisfied with conditions laid down by the HDCC. In February of 1922 mother was anxious to have children. Mother now wanted James and Susan. In October mother again asked for James and Susan. Father was working at \$18 a week. Isabelle was making good money in a paper box factory. Mother claimed she had a right to the younger children since home conditions were good. Agent assured mother children would be returned at the right time. HDCC was reluctant to return James and Susan since they were now in good homes. In October of 1923 mother reported that father had had a slight shock 7-21-23 and was so affected mentally that he was removed to the Boston State Hospital where he now was. Father was liable to pass away. Has had another shock since in hospital. Mother reported it was best that James and Susan remain in foster homes. All children at home were working and doing well. Mother had more than \$1000 in the bank. In October of 1924 mother reported that father was still in hospital and was distressed over his condition. In September of 1927 it was reported that James had recently been allowed to return home. James' foster father died recently and left all property to James. James returned home to help mother. In September of 1928 Susan failed in foster home. Father had died and since



Father was working continuously till the time of the sugar shortage caused the factory to shut down. Agent promised that more children would be returned as mother improved in behavior.

In October 1931 mother reported that she went to the HDCC repeatedly and felt that her request for children was not being heeded. On October sixth Anna was reported returned and probably Helen on probationary period. Father was recently at the HDCC and caused great disturbance. Superintendent felt that owing to home conditions children should be returned singly. Agent told mother that Isabelle had first caused some trouble but later improved. Mother was satisfied with conditions laid down by the HDCC. In February of 1932 mother was anxious to have children. Mother now wanted James and Susan. In October mother again asked for James and Susan. Father was working at \$18 a week. Isabelle was making good money in a paper box factory. Mother claimed she had a right to the younger children since home conditions were good. Agent assured mother children would be returned at the right time. HDCC was reluctant to return James and Susan since they were now in good homes. In October of 1933 mother reported that father had had a slight shock V-SI-33 and was no affected mentally that he was removed to the Boston State Hospital where he now was. Father was liable to pass away. Has had another shock since in hospital. Mother reported it was best that James and Susan remain in foster homes. All children at home were working and doing well. Mother had more than \$1000 in the bank. In October of 1934 mother reported that father was still in hospital and was distressed over his condition. In September of 1937 it was reported that James had recently been allowed to return home. James' foster father died recently and left all property to James. James returned home to help mother. In September of 1938 Susan called in foster home. Father had died and since



then mother was leading a good life and was behaving. Susan was tried in own home and did very well and was happy. In September of 1932 Susan was reported to be in an Industrial School on own volition. Said that she wasn't a bad girl, but was apt to be a bit wayward. Mother agreed to the arrangement. Susan was doing well at the school and was preparing to become a nun eventually.

On the whole the family finally made the grade, and through a slow and long continued process of gradual return of the children, over a period of over twelve years, the mother was given time to adjust to each as they came and the family has gradually become reintegrated more strongly than it was ever before. The writer considers this case a distinct success. Mother has no record since March of 1917 when she was put on probation to House of Good Shepherd for neglect of children, John has a record on 9-21-27 for not slowing up at intersection while working as a chauffeur and paid a five dollar fine. Otherwise none of the family have any record for any delinquency, not even drunkenness, which is quite surprising considering the early environment of the children. One is inclined to feel that foster home placing is after all a very useful method of treating children whose lives are disorganized because of unadjusted and inadequate home situations, especially in the light of such well-worked out cases as this one was. This case also illustrates the values and reason for long-time programs of treatment, especially in the treatment of problems of human beings who cannot usually be adjusted over night, after they have been maladjusted, perhaps, for the most part of their preceding lives.

Case XVIII. BA.FAMILY

Angeline- fifteen years and seven months; Antony- thirteen years and five months; Theresa- nine years and seven months; John- seven years and five months.



then mother was leading a good life and was behaving. Susan was tried in own home and did very well and was happy. In September of 1933 Susan was reported to be in an Industrial School on own volition. Said that she wanted a bad girl, but was apt to be a bit wayward. Mother agreed to the arrangement. Susan was doing well at the school and was preparing to become a nun eventually.

On the whole the family finally made the grade, and through a slow and long continued process of gradual return of the children over a period of over twelve years, the mother was given time to adjust to each as they came and the family has gradually become reintegrated more strongly than it was ever before. The writer considers this case a distinct success. Mother has no record since March of 1919 when she was put on probation to House of Good Shepherd for neglect of children. John has a record on 2-21-27 for not showing up at intercession while working as a chauffeur and paid a five dollar fine. Otherwise none of the family have any record for any delinquency, not even drunkenness, which is quite surprising considering the early environment of the children. One is inclined to feel that foster home placing is after all a very useful method of treating children whose lives are disorganized because of unadjusted and inadequate home situations, especially in the light of such well-worked out cases as this one was. This case also illustrates the values and reason for long-time programs of treatment, especially in the treatment of problems of human beings who cannot usually be adjusted over night, after they have been maladjusted, perhaps, for the most part of their preceding lives.

Case XVIII. B.A. FAMILY  
Anneling - fifteen years and seven months; Anthony - thirteen years and five months; Robert - nine years and seven months; John - seven years and five months.



Of all the cases studied, this was probably one of the most difficult. The difficulty lay not as one might suspect, in the fact of poverty and lack of physical needs, but rather in the fact that the family had plenty of money and hence were harder to handle because they could pay their way out of most ordinarily difficult situations that were placed in their way by the Society to protect the interests of the children, and to stop the mother's immorality and neglect of the children. Both parents were born in Italy and had made a good economic adjustment in the land of their adoption. But their moral standards were unfortunately very low grade and hence spoiled their good adjustment otherwise. All the children were of the first marriage to Mr. P.... Paternal relatives referred the case.

Paternal aunt living in suburb made complaint on January 28, 1920 that father had died 8-9-19, and that one L.J. spent a good deal of time in father's store, where mother worked since father's death. Mother was reported to be keeping L.J. there on pretense that he is working for her. L.J. was eating at home with the family and stayed there till all hours of the night. Also was taking it unto himself to discipline mother's children. Rose the oldest sibling objected to working in store because L.J. was so affectionate with mother. Rose was engaged to maternal nephew of L.J. Mother at first approved of the marriage, but now refused to allow Rose to see him. Mother was drinking a lot of wine. Of all the children only Tony approved of mother's relations with L.J. Tony was fond of him because he drove a team. Tony was sleeping with L.J. Angeline was anxious to talk with agent. Mother told complainant that it was her business if she wanted to be bad. On January thirtieth paternal aunt reported that mother beat Rose and would not allow either girl out of house. Associated



Of all the cases studied, this was probably one of the most difficult. The difficulty lay not so much in the fact of poverty and lack of physical needs, but rather in the fact that the family had plenty of money and hence were harder to handle because they could pay their way out of most ordinarily difficult situations that were placed in their way by the Society to protect the interests of the children, and to stop the mother's immorality and neglect of the children. Both parents were born in Italy and had made a good economic adjustment in the land of their adoption. But their moral standards were unfortunately very low and hence spoiled their good adjustment otherwise. All the children were of the first marriage to Mr. P. . . . Paternal relatives related the case.

Paternal aunt living in suburb made complaint on January 28, 1930 that father had died 8-8-18, and that one L.J. agent a good deal of time in father's store, where mother worked since father's death. Mother was reported to be keeping L.J. there on pretense that he is working for her. L.J. was eating at home with the family and stayed there till all hours of the night. Also was taking it unto himself to discipline mother's children. Rose the oldest sibling objected to working in store because L.J. was so affectionate with mother. Rose was engaged to maternal nephew of L.J. Mother at first approved of the marriage, but now refused to allow Rose to see him. Mother was drinking a lot of wine. Of all the children only Tony approved of mother's relations with L.J. Tony was fond of him because he drove a team. Tony was sleeping with L.J. Angelina was anxious to talk with agent. Mother told complaint that it was her business if she wanted to be bad. On January thirtieth paternal aunt reported that mother beat Rose and would not allow either girl out of house. Associated



Charities reported mother's morals questioned. Italian interpreter for one of courts reported that father had been ill with dropsy and that mother was immoral with L.J. while latter worked in their store. L.J. had a wife and child in Italy. Attendance officer reported that family was well-off financially. In February paternal aunt reported that Rose left home. Rose was living with R. family. Home was cold. Rose was dressed in fashionable black satin dress though it was early morning. Her hair was very elaborately combed and she spoke very good English. Went to N.... D.... Academy for two years where only rich Catholic girls can afford to go. Learned to sing there and other things as well. Said that mother was rich and that she expected to inherit quite a bit of money. Got acquainted with a college fellow with whom she broke off after a quarrel. Met DeR when he used to come to see his uncle L.J. in the store. Mother beat her in order to prevent marriage because he was making only \$60 a week, and she was now spending more than that a week. Mother promised \$4000 in cash, \$1000 in diamonds, and a \$3000 trousseau if she would marry to suit mother. Father died of locomotor ataxia and during last years of life had been blind. All children were pronounced negative in blood tests at the Psychopathic Hospital. Thinks she will not marry DeR after all. Says mother makes about \$60 a day and makes twice that much on Saturdays. Woman does mother's housework for her. School reported that Rose did good work, but was not interested. Always was well dressed and family had money. Angeline was also reported to be doing well. Angeline was not yet interested in men. Angeline often came to school in furs. Latter was to go to N.... D.... Academy for three years. Came to office in furs. Rose, mother, and Angeline had had a quarrel over L.J. affair; and they thought it might blow over. Mother now wanted to sell store to L.J. and go to Italy for a few



Charities reported mother's morals questioned. Italian interpreter for one of courts reported that father had been ill with diphtheria and that mother was immoral with L.J. while father worked in their store. L.J. had a wife and child in Italy. Attendance officer reported that family was well-off financially. In February paternal aunt reported that Rose left home. Rose was living with E. family. Rose was said. Rose was dressed in fashionable black satin dress though it was early morning. Her hair was very short. Greatly combed and she spoke very good English. Went to N.... D.... Academy for two years where only rich Catholic girls can afford to go. Learned to sing there and other things as well. Said that mother was rich and that she expected to inherit quite a bit of money. Got acquainted with a college fellow with whom she broke off after a quarrel. Met Dan when he used to come to see his uncle L.J. in the store. Mother beat her in order to prevent marriage because he was making only \$80 a week, and she was not spending more than that a week. Mother promised \$4000 in cash, \$1000 in diamonds, and a \$3000 promissory if she would marry to suit mother. Father died of locomotor ataxia and during last years of life had been blind. All children were pronounced negative in blood tests at the Psychopathic Hospital. Thinks she will not marry Dan after all. Says mother makes about \$50 a day and makes twice that much on Saturdays. Woman does mother's housework for her. School reported that Rose did good work, but was not interested. Always was well dressed and family had money. Angelina was also reported to be doing well. Angelina was not yet interested in Dan. Angelina often came to school in furs. Latter was to go to N.... D.... Academy for three years. Came to office in furs. Rose, mother, and Angelina had had a quarrel over L.J. affair, and they thought it might blow over. Mother now wanted to sell store to L.J. and go to Italy for a few



months. L.J.'s family were soon to come from Italy. This it was hoped would stop the neighborhood gossip. Neither Rose nor Angeline would testify but wanted L.J. to be less familiar with mother. Police officer agreed to frighten mother. Paternal aunt reported that John was locked in cellar several hours. Paternal uncle was much incensed over the affair. Maternal uncle said that he was going to kill L.J. Seemed to be blusterer however and nothing more. Rose married on 2-26-20 by Justice of the Peace and had license from Providence, Rhode Island. Mother wrote Rose an insulting letter and disowned her for marrying against her wishes. Maternal uncle later agreed not to shoot till police investigated situation.

In March police agreed to frighten mother and Attorney Z... agreed to advise mother to assign guardianship of children. Paternal aunt, aunt by marriage, and Rose at office complained of mother sleeping with L.J. Rose married in church on 3-12-20. L.J.'s sister Mrs. DeR had no use for L.J.'s deportment. Police captain later reported that there wasn't enough evidence for a night investigation. Mother's home was very neat. The store was a well-kept Italian store and L.J. waited on customers. Mother took agent to home which was above the store. Home was attractively furnished. Angeline was home from school to direct the cleaning woman's work. Mother declared that she would do as she pleased and that paternal relatives were complaining only because they wanted money from her. Said that father's funeral had cost \$1000 and that Rose had been sent to the N.... D.... Academy where only the richest Catholic girls could go. Angeline reported that L.J. passed mother's room in going to his. Mother became much perturbed over this statement and began to shout at Angeline in Italian. Agent told mother that someone had threatened to shoot her if she didn't get rid of L.J. and she was alarmed over this. Told agent that she



months. L.J.'s family were soon to come from Italy. This it was hoped would stop the neighborhood gossip. Mother Rose nor Angelina would testify but wanted L.J. to be less familiar with mother. Police officer agreed to frighten mother. Paternal aunt reported that John was locked in cellar several hours. Paternal uncle was much interested over the affair. Mother and uncle said that he was going to kill L.J. Seemed to be sinister however and nothing more. Rose married on 2-28-30 by Justice of the Peace and had license from Providence, Rhode Island. Mother wrote Rose an insulting letter and disowned her for marrying against her wishes. Maternal uncle later agreed not to shoot till police investigated situation.

In March police agreed to frighten mother and Attorney E... agreed to advise mother to assign guardianship of children. Paternal aunt, aunt by marriage, and Rose at office complained of mother sleeping with L.J. Rose married in church on 3-13-30. L.J.'s sister Mrs. Dee had no use for L.J.'s department. Police captain later reported that there wasn't enough evidence for a night investigation. Mother's home was very neat. The store was a well-kept Italian store and L.J. waited on customers. Mother took agent to home which was above the store. Home was attractively furnished. Angelina was home from school to direct the cleaning woman's work. Mother declared that she would do as she pleased and that paternal relatives were complaining only because they wanted money from her. Both that father's funeral had cost \$1000 and that Rose had been sent to the U.... D.... Academy where only the richest Catholic girls could go. Angelina reported that L.J. passed mother's room in going to his. Mother became much perturbed over this statement and began to shout at Angelina in Italian. Agent told mother that someone had threatened to shoot her if she didn't get rid of L.J. and she was alarmed over this. Told agent that she



had four houses, and when agent confronted her with the fact that she had made an income tax return for only \$1200, she again became alarmed and tried to conciliate agent. Said that she had plenty of money and was going to sell store and move away.

In April, police captain still reported no incriminating evidence. On May 4, 1920 complaint of neglect was made against the four youngest children (Angeline, Tony, Theresa, and John). On May sixth Angeline's principal reported that girl couldn't be good if mother was immoral or had bad reputation. Mother promised to send L.J. away. On May seventh Angeline and Rose were frightened. Were sure that mother was sleeping with L.J. Were now willing to leave door open every night for police to enter. Children blamed L.J. and said that he had no use for mother except for what he could get out of her. L.J. says that he will succeed in getting all her property away. Children reported that Attorney Z.... was crooked and made wrong income tax return for mother. On May eleventh mother gave L.J. half of store and house in order to have him remain with her. Servant who was with family was willing to testify. Girls to leave doors and windows open for the police to get evidence. On May twentieth Angeline and Theresa were planning to escape. Angeline reported that she had witnessed immoral act between mother and L.J. On May twenty-first mother gave Angeline a beating for giving Rose two silk shirts. Paternal aunt was willing to take Angeline to her home. Rose asked that children be given their property according to children's rights. Judge said that paternal aunt would have to furnish \$40,000 bond if paternal aunt was to take over guardianship and property of children. On May twenty-fourth mother and L.J. were in court on a lewd and lascivious charge and were made to put up \$500 bond each. Angeline was removed to home of paternal aunt. Tony was guest on Judge's



Angelina was removed to home of paternal aunt. Tony was kept on Tony's on a few and insubordinate charge and were made to put up \$500 bond each. property of children. On May twenty-fourth mother and I.J. were in court to furnish \$40,000 bond if paternal aunt was to take over guardianship and according to children's rights. Judge said that paternal aunt would have Angelina to her home. Rose asked that children be given their property heading for giving Rose two silk shirts. Paternal aunt was willing to take out between mother and I.J. On May twenty-first mother gave Angelina a were planning to escape. Angelina reported that she had witnessed immoral for the police to get evidence. On May twentieth Angelina and Theresa with family was willing to testify. Girls to leave doors and windows open of store and house in order to have him remain with her. Servant who was wrong income tax return for mother. On May eleventh mother gave I.J. half property away. Children reported that Attorney E.... was crooked and made he could get out of her. I.J. says that he will succeed in getting all her Children blamed I.J. and said that he had no use for mother except for what I.J. Were now willing to leave door open every night for police to enter. Angelina and Rose were frightened. Were sure that mother was sleeping with or had bad reputation. Mother promised to send I.J. away. On May seventh line's principal reported that girl couldn't be good if mother was immoral youngest children (Angelina, Tony, Theresa, and John). On May sixth Angelina. On May 4, 1930 complaint of neglect was made against the four In April, police captain still reported no incriminating to self store and move away. ended to consolidate agent. Said that she had plenty of money and was going made an income tax return for only \$1200, she again became alarmed and had four houses, and when agent confronted her with the fact that she had



farm. Theresa and John in the Society's Temporary Home. On June eighth, mother appealed the neglect charge and children (Theresa and John) were permitted to go home on \$1000 bail. On June tenth children were again in Temporary Home. On June eleventh Tony went to foster home. On June fourteenth Tony was returned on condition that he continue to go to school. Theresa and John remained in the care and custody of the Society. Theresa was to go to a church school as soon as could be arranged. John to return home as soon as L.J. would leave. On June thirtieth Angeline and Theresa were still in care and custody of Mrs. R. who said mother was a common prostitute. General Secretary of Society was given temporary guardianship over the children. Mother promised to send L.J. away and to buy back the shop. Attorney Z.... now demanded children be returned. Theresa and Angeline to go to church schools. L.J. bought store from mother last summer for \$3000 and has left home as roomer and boarder. Temporary guardianship was later revoked at request of General Secretary. Attorney Z.... promised that mother would buy back the store and L.J. would move away as his wife was coming in a month.

Rose was positive that mother never sold the store at all, and that she will continue to live with L.J. Rose quarrelled with Mrs. R. for allowing Angeline to go around with C. Rose later reported that mother bought automobile. Rose was still sure that mother was living with L.J. Mother requested to take children on vacation out of state, but Judge wouldn't allow this.

Paternal aunt now reported that Angeline was to marry C. Thought something would happen between them if they were not married soon. C wanted to marry Angeline. Had \$700 saved up in the bank. Angeline wanted to marry and settle down (was looking for security of relationship) and was







unhappy in paternal aunt's home. Agent tried to explain to Angeline what it would mean to marry a man who made less in one week than she spent on one article of clothing. Judge agreed that Angeline should marry. C wanted to marry in priest's home. On June twenty-ninth mother signed agreement to have Angeline marry. On June thirtieth agent visited Mrs. R. who was caring for Angeline, Theresa, and John. Mrs. R. had a large garden and a herd of goats. Was told that two younger children were not to go to Boston. Mother now said that she was to marry a well-to-do wholesale grocer from New York. In July permission was received from the court for Angeline's marriage. However Angeline and C agreed to wait a while before actually marrying. In August Mrs. R. reported that Angeline was a slow worker, but a good girl and saved money. Mother was spending all her money on herself and L.J. Was contributing little or nothing towards the support of the children. Children now didn't even have decent clothing. Angeline realized that her work wasn't suitable and said that C had bought her shoes and paid for dying her dress. Judge ordered mother to send all of the children's clothing to Mrs. R. Mother told agent that all of her family were healthy people and that there was much mental illness in father's family. Mother said that she had warned L.J. out of home and agreed to send the rather elaborate wardrobes of the children. On August thirteenth at JBGC conference Angeline was considered very bright and a business course was advocated for her. It was also recommended that she shouldn't be reminded of mother's immoral actions. Should have tonsillectomy at once. Also needed glasses for badly astigmatized eyes. However Judge advised against business school if she was to be married. Business school principal advised bookkeeping course of ten weeks which would cost fifty-five dollars. On August twentieth Theresa reported that Angeline's work tired her out very much but she was



181

inquiry in paternal aunt's home. Agent tried to explain to Angelina what it would mean to marry a man who made less in one week than she spent on one article of clothing. Judge agreed that Angelina should marry. U. wanted to marry in priest's house. On June twenty-ninth mother signed agreement to have Angelina marry. On June thirtieth agent visited Mrs. E. who was caring for Angelina, Thomas, and John. Mrs. E. had a large garden and a herd of goats. Was told that two younger children were not to go to Boston. Mother now said that she was to marry a well-to-do wholesale grocer from New York. In July permission was received from the court for Angelina's marriage. However Angelina and U. agreed to wait a while before actually marrying. In August Mrs. E. reported that Angelina was a slow worker, but a good girl and saved money. Mother was spending all her money on herself and L.J. Was contributing little or nothing towards the support of the children. Children now didn't even have decent clothing. Angelina realized that her work wasn't suitable and said that U. had bought her shoes and paid for buying her dress. Judge ordered mother to send all of the children's clothing to Mrs. E. Mother told agent that all of her family were healthy people and that there was much mental illness in father's family. Mother said that she had warned L.J. out of home and agreed to send the rather elaborate wardrobe of the children. On August thirteenth at 1200 conference Angelina was considered very bright and a business course was advocated for her. It was also recommended that she shouldn't be reminded of mother's immoral actions. Should have consultation at once. Also needed glasses for badly refractionized eyes. However Judge advised against business school if she was to be married. Business school principal advised bookkeeping course of ten weeks which would cost fifty-five dollars. On August twentieth Thomas reported that Angelina's work tired her out very much but she was



sticking to it and even was saving money. Theresa reported that she and John were very happy and didn't want to return home. Theresa wanted to stay with foster mother till she was to go to convent school. Mother seldom came and brought only torn clothing for Angeline. C came once a week to see Angeline. Angeline wanted to go to business school. On August twenty-third Mrs. R. complained that mother was still neglecting children and felt that the court was being too lax. Angeline still had no proper clothing. Theresa now refused to go to convent school and wanted to remain with Mrs. R. Latter now asked \$5 a week board each for Theresa and John, and \$7 week for Angeline. Latter seemed to have an air of refinement and sang for agent in a very stagey manner. Children's Aid Society now agreed to assume placement work of this case if Judge would approve. On August twenty-sixth it was reported that Angeline's eyesight was badly impaired and that she would have to wear eyeglasses all the time. It was thought that this would improve her condition all around. Angeline got her glasses and was instructed how to use them. Also was now told at the business school that it would take about a year for her to complete her course. Angeline was still interested.

On September first mother threatened to disown children if they wouldn't return and agent had to warn mother again to leave them alone. However mother forcibly removed children(Theresa and John) on September third and punished latter by banging his head. Mrs. R. willing to keep children even without payment of money. On September thirteenth mother at first refused to send L.J. away, but later did after much conversation with him in Italian. Mother refused to pay Angeline's board or to place boys. Sent Theresa to M... Academy where she was paying \$35 a month for her. Said that Angeline was a bad girl since she left the home.



attacking to it and even was saving money. Theresa reported that she and John were very happy and didn't want to return home. Theresa wanted to stay with foster mother till she was to go to convent school. Mother said come and brought only torn clothing for Angelina. On August twenty-third Mrs. R. complained that mother was still neglecting children and felt that the court was being too lax. Angelina still had no proper clothing. Theresa now refused to go to convent school and wanted to remain with Mrs. R. latter now asked \$8 a week board each for Theresa and John, and \$7 week for Angelina. latter seemed to have an air of reluctance and sent for agent in a very stacey manner. Children's Aid Society now agreed to assume place-ment work of this case if Judge would approve. On August twenty-sixth it was reported that Angelina's speech was badly impaired and that she would have to wear eyeglasses all the time. It was thought that this would im-prove her condition all around. Angelina got her glasses and was instructed how to use them. Also was now told at the business school that it would take about a year for her to complete her course. Angelina was still inter-ested.

On September first mother threatened to disown children if they wouldn't return and agent had to warn mother again to leave them alone. However mother forcibly removed children(Theresa and John) on September third and punished latter by banging his head. Mrs. R. willing to keep children even without payment of money. On September thirteenth mother at first refused to send L.L. away, but later did after much conver-sation with him in Italian. Mother refused to pay Angelina's board or to place boys. Sent Theresa to N... Academy where she was paying \$25 a month for her. Said that Angelina was a bad girl since she left the home.



Agent found men's boots under mother's bed. Said she had never had immoral relations with L.J. before the children and that all money she had was still hers. Said that she was going to do as she pleased. Tony came in very showily dressed. Was insolent and said that he wouldn't leave home. Agent warned mother that court action was going to be taken. On September seventeenth Children's Aid Society(CAS) reported that mother did nothing further about Angeline's placement and was opposed to everything that was proposed. Though mother was luxuriously dressed she refused to give adequate care to children who were placed out. It was now being rumored in section of city where family lived that L.J. was strangling men whom he persuaded to make out insurance policies in his favor. On October fifteenth Theresa returned home from M..... Academy in very sick condition. CAS forced mother to send her to N.... D.... Academy which was much more expensive. Angeline was placed in W..... House in town of A.... However couldn't stay there longer as factory where she was working had closed down.

On October twentieth agent found mother conversing with L.J. Mother reported that Theresa was back at M.... Academy and that she was to marry man from New York to whom she had referred previously, when L.J.'s wife would come to this country. Tony was truanting from school. John was reported as being fairly clean in school, but always wore the same rather tattered clothing. John reported that he slept with Tony and that Theresa was now in neighboring parochial school and not placed out as mother reported. Theresa said that she wanted to stay home to prevent mother's remarriage. On October twenty-sixth Judge gave mother permission to place out children herself. Former agent for family who had married since case was opened, took over guardianship of Angeline even though no longer connected with the Society, with the consent of mother and the Judge.



Agent found man's boots under mother's bed. Said she had never had immoral relations with L.V. before the children and that all money she had was still hers. Said that she was going to do as she pleased. Tony came in very knowingly dressed. Was puzzled and said that he wouldn't leave home. Agent warned mother that court action was going to be taken. On September seventeenth Children's Aid Society (CAS) reported that mother did nothing further about Angelina's placement and was opposed to everything that was proposed. Though mother was luxuriously dressed she refused to give adequate care to children who were placed out. It was now being rumored in section of city where family lived that L.V. was strangling men whom he persuaded to make out insurance policies in his favor. On October fifteenth Theresa returned home from M..... Academy in very sick condition. CAS forced mother to send her to N..... D..... Academy which was much more expensive. Angelina was placed in W..... House in town of A..... However couldn't stay there longer as factory where she was working had closed down. On October twentieth agent found mother conversing with L.V. Mother reported that Theresa was back at M..... Academy and that she was to marry man from New York to whom she had referred previously, when L.V.'s wife would come to this country. Tony was transferring from school. John was reported as being fairly clean in school, but always wore the same rather tattered clothing. John reported that he slept with Tony and that Theresa was now in neighboring parochial school and not placed out as mother reported. Theresa said that she wanted to stay home to prevent mother's remarriage. On October twenty-sixth Judge gave mother permission to place out children herself. Former agent for family who had married since case was opened, took over guardianship of Angelina even though no longer connected with the Society, with the consent of mother and the Judge.



Former agent agreed to give consent to Angeline's marriage. On November fourth Tony and John were in town of S.B. Forced to go to school there by the attendance officers. Boys were living on a truck farm, on what mother told foster mother was their vacation. Came to see children every Sunday in company of L.J. Theresa was also at home of V family on same conditions. On December third paternal aunt reported more scandals of mother and L.J. and that Angeline's husband was not supporting and that latter was in rags. On December tenth mother came to the court feeling that the whole matter was a joke. Returned much excited when told that children were to be removed. On January twenty-fourth of 1921 mother said that she wanted all children returned. Said that they liked L.J. Angeline left home without giving notice since husband was not supporting her. In February mother moved from former home to suburb. Wanted children returned. Mother was living in a very nice apartment that was well furnished and clean. Denied immoral relations with L.J. Mother showed agent her great stock of linens and other valuable things. Boasted that she had \$2000 a year income besides the store profits and diamonds. Reported that Attorney Z was responsible for her small income tax returns. Said that she hadn't married man from New York because her relatives wrote him that she was a bad woman. Agreed to do all agent desired. Excused delay in arrival of L.J.'s wife by saying she had missed the boat. Said that the cousin of one of the Judge's wanted to marry her. Agent noted that in one of drawers inadvertently opened by mother there were about a dozen men's collars. Said they were father's and that she was saving them for Tony. Children were still wearing same clothes and hadn't started for school yet. Said that it was vacation week. Mother and L.J. made a lot of deliveries on Sunday to city of Q.... Tony and L.J. were in that city that day. In March children were home alone and Theresa was



Former agent agreed to give consent to Angelina's marriage. On November  
fourth Tony and John were in town at 8 P.M. Forced to go to school there by  
the attendance officers. Boys were living on a truck farm, on what mother  
told foster mother was their vacation. Came to see children every Sunday  
in company of I.J. Theresa was also at home of V family on same condition.  
On December third paternal aunt reported more scandal of mother and I.J.  
and that Angelina's husband was not supporting and that latter was in rage.  
On December tenth mother came to the court feeling that the whole matter  
was a joke. Returned much excited when told that children were to be re-  
moved. On January twenty-fourth of 1931 mother said that she wanted all  
children returned. Said that they liked I.J. Angelina left home without  
giving notice since husband was not supporting her. In February mother  
moved from former home to suburb. Wanted children returned. Mother was  
living in a very nice apartment that was well furnished and clean. Denied  
intimate relations with I.J. Mother showed agent her Great stock of diamonds  
and other valuable things. Reported that she had \$3000 a year income besides  
the store profits and diamonds. Reported that Attorney E was responsible  
for her small income tax return. Said that she hadn't married man from  
New York because her relatives wrote him that she was a bad woman. Agreed  
to do all agent desired. Excused delay in arrival of I.J.'s wife by saying  
she had missed the boat. Said that the cousin of one of the Judge's wanted  
to marry her. Agent noted that in one of drawers inadvertently opened by  
mother there were about a dozen men's collars. Said they were father's and that  
she was saving them for Tony. Children were still wearing same clothes and  
hadn't started for school yet. Said that it was vacation week. Mother and  
I.J. made a lot of deliveries on Sunday to city of G.... Tony and I.J. were  
in that city that day. In March children were home alone and Theresa was



doing some ironing. Mother was not home yet even at seven thirty p.m. John still was wearing same clothes. There was no food in the house. Children said that mother usually brought delicacies with her. Mother did all the washing on Sunday. Mother had promised to take children on picnic the following day.

In April L.J. and another man were playing cards in the rear of the store. Tony acted very insolently and said that mother was ill and that he was attending continuation school. Later in the month mother was found at home in company of other woman rolling macaroni. Mother said that woman was L.J.'s sister-in-law and that L.J.'s wife was coming on the C.. Mother said that front room was for visitors and was uninhabited. Had new wicker set in parlor.

On May seventeenth landlord reported that L.J. was living with mother as her husband. There were now many children in home who were very noisy. There was also a raid on the house on Sunday. Mother was given eviction notice and she was to return to old apartment next day. Court in neighborhood reported that L.J. was in for neglect of minor children. Woman in home had been L.J.'s wife who reported that L.J. not only neglected his minor children, but also assaulted her and was a non-supporter. It was also discovered that a clerk of court was trying to hamper case of the BA children in this case. L.J. was living with mother constantly since his court trial, according to landlord. On May twenty-sixth L.J. was reported to be cohabiting with mother. Attorney Z gave a very interesting, but untrue story in defense of L.J. against wife's complaint. Landlord testified that L.J. was living with mother as her husband. Attorney Z excused Theresa's truancy by saying that she was ill. Mother claimed that L.J. never lived with her without his wife being there. Said that L.J. and wife quarrelled



143

being some ironing. Mother was not home yet even at seven thirty p.m. John still was wearing same clothes. There was no food in the house. Children said that mother usually brought delicacies with her. Mother did all the washing on Sunday. Mother had promised to take children on picnic the following day.

In April L.J. and another man were playing cards in the rear of the store. Tony asked very loudly and said that mother was ill and that he was attending convalescent school. Later in the month mother was found at home in company of other women rolling macaroni. Mother said that woman was L.J.'s sister-in-law and that L.J.'s wife was coming on the C.. Mother said that front room was for visitors and was unoccupied. Had new wicker set in parlor.

On May seventeenth Landford reported that L.J. was living with mother as her husband. There were now many children in home who were very noisy. There was also a raid on the house on Sunday. Mother was given eviction notice and she was to return to old apartment next day. Court in neighborhood reported that L.J. was in for neglect of minor children. Women in home had been L.J.'s wife who reported that L.J. not only neglected his minor children, but also assaulted her and was a non-reporter. It was also discovered that a clerk of court was trying to hangar case of the BA children in this case. L.J. was living with mother constantly since his court trial, according to Landford. On May twenty-sixth L.J. was reported to be cohabiting with mother. Attorney 3 gave a very interesting, but untrue story in defense of L.J. against wife's complaint. Landford testified that L.J. was living with mother as her husband. Attorney 2 exposed Thomas' pretensing by saying that she was ill. Mother claimed that L.J. never lived with her without his wife being there. Said that L.J. and wife quarrelled



over living quarters. Judge again advised mother not to see L.J. outside of business hours and thus avoid suspicion. Mother now wanted to take John and Theresa to seashore for the summer and Tony was to work at store and visit occasionally. John said that he walked from suburb to Boston only when he didn't know his way.

On June sixteenth mother's address was now unknown. Angeline came to office for photographs she had left. L.J.'s wife didn't know where he now was. He was sentenced to eight months House of Correction on June eighth but appealed. On June twenty-fourth mother reported she was living alone. John was with mother's nephew. Antonio was living over the store. Theresa was with mother's niece and was going with latter to seashore. On July fifteenth Angeline reported that mother and L.J. were running a restaurant and were living together. Theresa was also with mother. Angeline couldn't promise to pay for her glasses. In August Tony reported that mother and L.J. ran restaurant in Q.... and stayed there nights. Mother sometimes came home. John was with mother. Theresa was ill and was in Mattapan in Boston Consumptive Hospital. Mother was going to sell restaurant. Mother wanted to return to Boston. Mother posed as L.J.'s cousin in the city of Q.... Theresa was now reported as probable case of tuberculosis. At hospital and reported to have lung trouble. Theresa was in private room. Reported that mother let rooms in town of Q.... to colored men and that she had slept with mother, and L.J. was elsewhere. Dr. B. reported that Theresa had positive sputum and that there wasn't much hope for her. Disease might continue some months and she would have to be in hospital during that time. Outlook was reported to be poor, and child was failing and was constantly in bed. Mother hadn't visited hospital for ten days, and was said to be in Rhode Island. L.J. called every day to see Theresa and



over living quarters. Judge again advised mother not to see L.J. outside of business hours and thus avoid suspicion. Mother now wanted to take John and Theresa to somewhere for the summer and Tony was to work at store and visit occasionally. John said that he walked from suburb to Boston only when he didn't know his way.

On June eleventh mother's address was now unknown. Ange- line came to office for photographs and had left. L.J.'s wife didn't know where he now was. He was sentenced to eight months House of Correction on June eighth but appealed. On June twenty-fourth mother reported she was living alone. John was with mother's nephew. Antonio was living over the store. Theresa was with mother's niece and was going with latter to sea- shore. On July fifteenth Angelina reported that mother and L.J. were run- ning a restaurant and were living together. Theresa was also with mother. Angelina couldn't promise to pay for her glasses. In August Tony reported that mother and L.J. ran restaurant in Q.... and stayed there nights. Mother sometimes came home. John was with mother. Theresa was ill and was in hospital in Boston Consumptive Hospital. Mother was going to self restau- rant. Mother wanted to return to Boston. Mother passed as L.J.'s cousin in the city of Q.... Theresa was now reported as probable case of tuberculosis at hospital and reported to have lung trouble. Theresa was in private room. Reported that mother let rooms in town of Q.... to colored man and that she had slept with mother, and L.J. was elsewhere. Dr. B. reported that Theresa had positive syphilis and that there wasn't much hope for her. Theresa might continue some months and she would have to be in hospital during that time. Outlook was reported to be poor, and child was falling and was constantly in bed. Mother hadn't visited hospital for ten days, and was said to be in Rhode Island. L.J. called every day to see Theresa and



volunteered to take her for a ride, but doctors refused permission.

In September it was reported that L.J.'s wife was in apartment two floors above store. Washed and cooked for both families. Mother was at seashore on vacation. Rose reported that mother and L.J. still saw each other and said that L.J.'s wife returned in order to hush up the scandal that was going about. Said that mother was intentionally bringing about more rapid death for Theresa. Mother was reported at the hospital as not having visited child for over a month. However wrote letters almost every day. Theresa was getting weaker. On September twenty-second hospital authorities refused to allow mother to take Theresa home. Right lung was now entirely gone. L.J. tried to force his wife to go to court to testify that mother was a good woman and beat her for refusing to do so. Also beat his wife for not wanting to move to town of S.B.

On October third mother signed a contract for Children's Friend Society(CFS) to pay \$4 week board for John. She was to visit boy once a month. L.J. was not to come at all. Mother was told to bring clothing to office. On October fourth John was placed in town of D.... in another state. Mother arrived a little too late with clothing, and rushed to station with clothing. On October twenty-fifth Theresa was fairly well and still needing hospitalization.

On November thirtieth CFS reported that mother went to see John and came with man in an auto who she said was her cousin. Agent warned of probability that it was L.J. On December twenty-second Theresa was removed to mother. Theresa died on 12-30-21 and was buried 1-1-22. John attended funeral.

On June 13, 1922 John was reported as doing well in foster home. School was out and he was happy. Mother visited in company of L.J.'s



volunteered to take her for a ride, but doctors refused permission.

In September it was reported that I.J.'s wife was in apartment two floors above store. Washed and cooked for both families. Mother was at seashore on vacation. Rose reported that mother and I.J. still saw each other and said that I.J.'s wife returned in order to wash up the scandal that was going about. Said that mother was intentionally bringing about more rapid death for Theresa. Mother was reported at the hospital as not having visited child for over a month. However wrote letters almost every day. Theresa was getting weaker. On September twenty-second hospital authorities refused to allow mother to take Theresa home. Right lung was now entirely gone. I.J. tried to force his wife to go to court to testify that mother was a good woman and best her for refusing to do so. Also said his wife for not wanting to move to town of S.E.

On October third mother signed a contract for Children's Friend Society (CFS) to pay \$4 week board for John. She was to visit him once a month. I.J. was not to come at all. Mother was told to bring clothing to office. On October fourth John was placed in town of U.... in another state. Mother arrived a little too late with clothing, and rushed to station with clothing. On October twenty-fifth Theresa was fairly well and still needing hospitalization.

On November thirtieth CFS reported that mother went to see John and came with man in an auto who she said was her cousin. Agent warned of probability that it was I.J. On December twenty-second Theresa was removed to mother. Theresa died on 12-30-31 and was buried 1-1-32. John attended funeral.

On June 18, 1932 John was reported as being well in foster home. School was out and he was hungry. Mother visited in company of I.J.'s



daughter. Mother wanted John to go to Italy, but latter preferred to stay where he was. John finished sixth grade. Mother paid board every six weeks and was two months in arrears. Mother sold store and gave auto to L.J. supposedly in part payment of a debt. Now didn't want to go to Italy and wanted John returned. Mother reported that she could get job at between \$50 and \$60 a week but didn't want to work now. Tony was still attending continuation school. Wanted him to go to trade school. Wants John to come home. L.J. was selling groceries from wagon and she didn't see him much. On October sixth CFS reported that mother was a bad influence over John and was trying to get him to come home. Mother denied relationships with L.J. and became enraged when accused of borrowing his car to come to see John. Rose reported that mother had fire at store and had loss of about \$1000. Tony was now reported as being diseased because of relationships with girls. Mother now reported as having had operation on uterus in private hospital and Tony appendicitis operation. No indication of venereal disease at time of operation however.

On December fourth mother's priest advised that John remain where he was. L.J. had left his wife and would not live with her. On January 5, 1923, mother owed CFS \$88. On July sixth she owed them \$192. CFS demanded lump sum of \$50 and prompt payments thereafter. Tony was still out of work because of operation on throat. Mother was working but couldn't pay up for at least ten days. Property had been taken in a bank foreclosure on 12-18-22. In August mother was working and earning about \$30 a week. Tony was earning about \$18 a week. Mother now owed CFS \$125. In September Rose reported that L.J.'s wife reported that mother and L.J. were still together. Mother bought L.J. suit for \$45. L.J. recently commenced to work. Tony gave all his wages to L.J. Worker in one of the nearby settlements



daughter. Mother wanted John to go to Italy, but father preferred to stay where he was. John finished sixth grade. Mother paid board every six weeks and was two months in arrears. Mother sold store and gave auto to I.J. supposedly in part payment of a debt. Now didn't want to go to Italy and wanted John returned. Mother reported that she could get job as between \$20 and \$30 a week but didn't want to work now. Tony was still attending continuation school. Wanted him to go to grade school. Wants John to come home. I.J. was selling groceries from wagon and she didn't see him much. On October sixth CPS reported that mother was a bad influence over John and was trying to get him to come home. Mother denied relationships with I.J. and became enraged when accused of borrowing his car to come to see John. Rose reported that mother had five at store and had lost of about \$100. Tony was now reported as being ill because of relationships with I.J. Mother now reported as having had operation on stomach in private hospital and Tony appendicitis operation. No indication of venereal disease at time of operation however. On December fourth mother's priest advised that John remain where he was. I.J. had left his wife and would not live with her. On January 6, 1933, mother owed CPS \$88. On July sixth she owed them \$128. CPS demanded lump sum of \$50 and prospect payments thereafter. Tony was still out of work because of operation on throat. Mother was working but couldn't pay up for at least ten days. Property had been taken in a bank foreclosure on 12-18-32. In August mother was working and earning about \$30 a week. Tony was earning about \$18 a week. Mother now owed CPS \$128. In September Rose reported that I.J.'s wife reported that mother and I.J. were still together. Mother bought I.J. suit for \$45. I.J. recently commenced to work. Tony gave all his wages to I.J. Worker in one of the nearby settlements



reported that mother and L.J. still were together. Tony was engaged to be married to L.J.'s daughter. Mother had two mortgages on house still remaining with her amounting to \$16,500. Mother still owed \$77 to CFS.

In February of 1924 mother was living in different part of the city. Was working in pants' factory and earning \$24 a week and \$12 when she worked at home. Tony was still making \$18 a week in repair shop. CFS was willing to try John at home even though he was happy in foster home. L.J. was on suspended sentence to House of Correction for assault and battery on wife and was ordered to pay her \$10 a week on non-support charge. Police officer reported that mother and L.J. were still carrying on old affair. Mother was married to Mr. B on 3-26-34.

On June 4, 1924 mother owed CFS \$126 but they couldn't locate her. On December second mother was in Criminal Court on a charge of furnishing "straw bail". Mother now owed CFS \$226. Antonio married L.J.'s daughter in August. Couple were living with stepfather and mother. John was returned for the wedding party of three days.

On January 6, 1925 stepfather disappeared. Mother now wanted to marry L.J. L.J.'s wife refused to sign passport for him to go to Italy. L.J. offered neighbor \$50 to act as witness against his wife in order that he might get a divorce.

On January 9, 1925 CFS reported that John was found to be very bright and capable of doing ninth grade work though only in the seventh. He wanted to go to the Boston Latin High School. Mother now owed CFS \$254. In June it was reported that John completed two grades in one year. He was now ready to enter High School. Mother recently called in company of Angeline and said that they were reconciled, and that she(mother) was reformed. Promised to have nothing more to do with L.J. Tony was to leave his



reported that mother and L.L. still were together. Tony was engaged to be married to L.L.'s daughter. Mother had two mortgages on house still remaining with her amounting to \$18,500. Mother still owed \$27 to CWS.

In February of 1934 mother was living in different part of the city. Was working in gent's factory and earning \$34 a week and \$12 when she worked at home. Tony was still making \$18 a week in repair shop. CWS was willing to let John at home even though he was happy in foster home. L.L. was on suspended sentence to House of Correction for assault and battery on wife and was ordered to pay her \$10 a week as non-support charge. Police officer reported that mother and L.L. were still carrying on old affair.

Mother was married to Mr. B on 3-26-34.

On June 4, 1934 mother owed CWS \$125 but they couldn't locate her. On December second mother was in Criminal Court on a charge of furnishing "straw bail". Mother now owed CWS \$225. Antonio married L.L.'s daughter in August. Couple were living with stepfather and mother. John was returned for the wedding party of three days.

On January 6, 1935 stepfather disappeared. Mother now wanted to marry L.L. L.L.'s wife refused to sign passport for him to go to Italy. L.L. offered neighbor \$50 to act as witness against his wife in order that he might get a divorce.

On January 9, 1935 CWS reported that John was found to be very bright and capable of doing ninth grade work though only in the seventh. He wanted to go to the Boston Latin High School. Mother now owed CWS \$350. In June it was reported that John completed two grades in one year. He was now ready to enter High School. Mother recently called in company of Angelina and said that they were reconciled, and that she (mother) was reformed. Promised to have nothing more to do with L.L. Tony was to leave his



wife who was to return to her father(L.J.). They never lived as husband and wife. Stepfather was to return to Italy. Mother was trying to have L.J. released from the House of Correction.

In October mother promised to pay whole bill to CFS when John was returned. John was going to school seven miles away and had to be driven to and from school. This couldn't be kept up all winter and he might have to be placed somewhere else. On October ninth mother was working at \$12. a week. Tony was living with her and making \$28. a week. Stepfather was in Italy. John wanted to go home and CFS was inclined to give this plan a trial. On December eighteenth mother was sentenced to six months in jail for perjury. In June of 1926 mother returned from jail and didn't want to return to place where she had worked. Was doing work at home. Tony was again with her. John was doing splendidly in school and went to see mother in jail once. In July 1926 John was to work on farm near Boston so that he might see mother frequently. In September it was reported that John was with Italian family in town of S... and was earning about \$8. a week. Was entering second year of high school. Mother visited him once. Angeline reported that Tony was out late and gambled. CFS was paying \$5 a week board for John since he wanted to remain in school.

In January of 1927 CFS reported John well adjusted in town of S... and visiting mother on week ends. In June John reported that mother got place for him in leather store for the summer and for winter if he wanted to also. Principal of high school in town of S.... reported John to be clean and fifth in scholarship in a class of eighty. He and CFS wanted John to stay in school till graduation. John was on the honor roll. Mother was furnishing his clothing but paid no board. John was anxious to return home. John reported that mother was working in a clothing store. Tony was



John was returned. John was going to school seven miles away and had to be driven to and from school. This couldn't be kept up all winter and he might have to be placed somewhere else. On October ninth mother was working at \$15 a week. Tony was living with her and making \$38 a week. Step-father was in Italy. John wanted to go home and CPS was inclined to give this plan a trial. On December eighteenth mother was sentenced to six months in jail for perjury. In June of 1938 mother returned from jail and didn't want to return to place where she had worked. Was doing work at home. Tony was again with her. John was doing splendidly in school and went to see mother in jail once. In July 1938 John was to work on farm near Boston so that he might see mother frequently. In September it was reported that John was with Italian family in town of S... and was earning about \$8 a week. Was entering second year of high school. Mother visited him once. Angelina reported that Tony was out late and gambled. CPS was paying \$5 a week board for John since he wanted to remain in school. In January of 1937 CPS reported John well adjusted in town of S... and visiting mother on week ends. In June John reported that mother got place for him in leather store for the summer and for winter if he wanted to also. Principal of high school in town of S.... reported John to be clean and fifth in scholarship in a class of eighty. He and CPS wanted John to stay in school till graduation. John was on the honor roll. Mother was furnishing his clothing but paid no board. John was anxious to return home. John reported that mother was working in a clothing store. Tony was



living with her and was working in a garage. John was expecting to earn \$14 a week in leather store. On June twenty-fourth court ordered John returned to mother. In August it was reported that John didn't get expected job and was working at a poultry market at from \$8 to \$9 per week. On September second mother was earning \$25 a week and Tony was earning \$30 a week and had own car. Tony took mother out riding. John wanted to remain in Boston and continue with school. John was now to go to High School in Boston. Promised to work and pay back board to CFS at rate of \$5 a week. In December, however, John was again in town of S.... and in junior year of school and was earning enough to pay \$5 a week board to CFS. Mother was paying nothing but gave him a dollar occasionally. In March 1928 John was reported to be in High School in Boston. Mother was now boarding a theatrical man and said she wanted to enter this business. John liked his new high school because they provided scholarships for college. Tony was out of work. In December it was reported that John was on the football team of his high school and was to graduate June 1929. School authorities were urging him to enter Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Wouldn't bring mother to school to talk over this question, but mother wrote that she consented to this.

In August of 1930 probation officer reported that John was supposed to be at West Point. However in November it was reported that he had begun to serve his three years on National Guard in preparation to go to West Point. John wants to go to West Point and his lieutenant reported that he can go if he wants to.

In this case we begin to see what it means to deal with parents who are anti-social and will give no cooperation to social agencies. Probably if social agencies hadn't intervened in this case the mother would



living with her and was working in a garage. John was expecting to earn \$14 a week in leather store. On June twenty-fourth court ordered John returned to mother. In August it was reported that John didn't get expected job and was working at a poultry market at from \$8 to \$9 per week. On September second mother was earning \$25 a week and Tony was earning \$20 a week and had own car. Tony took mother out riding. John wanted to remain in Boston and continue with school. John was now to go to High School in Boston. Promised to work and pay back board to CTS at rate of \$3 a week. In December, however, John was again in town of S.... and in Junior year of school and was earning enough to pay \$5 a week board to CTS. Mother was paying nothing but gave him a dollar occasionally. In March 1938 John was reported to be in High School in Boston. Mother was now boarding a theatrical man and said she wanted to enter this business. John liked his new high school because they provided scholarships for college. Tony was out of work. In December it was reported that John was on the football team of his high school and was to graduate June 1939. School authorities were urging him to enter Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Wouldn't bring mother to school to talk over this question, but mother wrote that she consented to this.

In August of 1939 probation officer reported that John was supposed to be at West Point. However in November it was reported that he had begun to serve his three years on National Guard in preparation to go to West Point. John wants to go to West Point and his lieutenant reported that he can go if he wants to.

In this case we begin to see what it means to deal with parents who are anti-social and will give no cooperation to social agencies. Probably if social agencies hadn't intervened in this case the mother would



have dragged down all her children into the same moral morass that she had sunk into. As it was the action of the various social agencies probably saved the two girls from the mother's immoral influences and gave John a chance to use his abilities. Theresa was however a victim to her mother's neglectfulness, and the social agencies were powerless in the face of the mother's opposition and shrewdness to do much for her in the way of providing adequate care for Theresa. The mother throughout thwarted her own purposes and that of her children and she represents a type of person that is most difficult to deal with since she is shrewd enough to evade all the forces at the command of Law and Society. Also the fact that she was woman of means added to the difficulty of bringing about legal action since she could always prove that she could adequately provide for the physical needs of the children. The least successful of the children has been Tony who escaped the influences of the interested social agencies and consequently lived under the unhealthy environment which his mother provided for him longer than did the others. None of the children or the mother have further records and this is also indicative of a certain degree of success on the part of the social agencies active on this case in preventing the children from becoming delinquent as a result of their morally unhealthy home environment. The mother's paramour L.J. has a very long record the latest of which centre about continued neglect of his wife and children. He was last surrendered for sentence on January 31, 1933 and again defaulted probation in August of the same year.

#### Case XIX. T.FAMILY

Edward- three years; Joseph- one year.

The mother of this family was a habitual drinker and



have dragged down all her children into the same moral abyss that she had sunk into. As it was the action of the various social agencies probably saved the two girls from the mother's immoral influences and gave them a chance to use his abilities. Theresa was however a victim to her mother's neglectfulness, and the social agencies were powerless in the face of the mother's opposition and unwillingness to do much for her in the way of providing adequate care for Theresa. The mother throughout thwarted her own purposes and that of her children and she represents a type of person that is most difficult to deal with since she is narrow enough to evade all the forces of the command of law and society. Also the fact that she was woman of means added to the difficulty of bringing about legal action since she could always prove that she could adequately provide for the physical needs of the children. The least successful of the children has been Tony who escaped the influences of the interested social agencies and consequently lived under the unhealthy environment which his mother provided for him longer than did the others. None of the children or the mother have further records and this is also indicative of a certain degree of success on the part of the social agencies active on this case in preventing the children from becoming delinquent as a result of their morally unhealthy home environment. The mother's permanent I. V. has a very long record the latest of which centre about continued neglect of his wife and children. He was last surrendered for sentence on January 30, 1933 and again defaulted probation in August of the same year.

Case XIX. T. FAMILY

Edward - three years; Joseph - one year.

The mother of this family was a habitual drinker and



neglected both of her children as well as her home. Father became ill, lost his job, became discouraged, and deserted for England by getting himself a job on a freighter. The parents were both Irish by birth and were about the same age. They were Roman Catholic by religion. Father worked as fireman for a gas company at \$12.50 per week.

On August 29, 1914 priest of parents' church reported that landlady complained of mother's drinking. Father was a sober man and was very industrious. Of late had beaten mother very severely, especially when she was intoxicated. Mother often was intoxicated for four to five days and children went hungry, and were only half-clothed. Mother was found at home with both eyes blackened by father. Mother was sober and furniture was packed ready for moving. Father had gone to look for a tenement. Father beat her because she was drinking. Children appeared to be poorly fed and looked emaciated. Mother appeared to be respectable when sober. Landlord reported that father was steady worker and drank some, but was never drunk. Father was discouraged and disgusted with mother who for past two weeks was drinking continuously. Father had beaten mother several times and landlord objected to this. Father hadn't beaten her since.

On February 8, 1915 priest reported that mother was drinking at new home and father had deserted. Children were underfed and needed to be removed for neglect. On February tenth mother reported that father had deserted several weeks ago. Now owed several weeks rent. On February seventeenth the children were removed to the HDCC. Joseph was emaciated and thin. Edward was weak. Paternal aunt M who was a servant(maid) came to bring food to children and also some clothing. Father hadn't been heard from since his desertion. On February twenty-fifth mother was in court and reported that she was unable to find employment. Was still living in same



neglected both of her children as well as her home. Father became ill, lost his job, became discouraged, and deserted for England by getting himself a job on a freighter. The parents were both Irish by birth and were about the same age. They were Roman Catholic by religion. Father worked as fireman for a gas company at \$12.50 per week.

On August 29, 1915 priest of parents' church reported that fatherly complained of mother's drinking. Father was a sober man and was very industrious. Of late had beaten mother very severely, especially when she was intoxicated. Mother often was intoxicated for four to five days and children went hungry, and were only half-dressed. Mother was found at home with both eyes blackened by father. Mother was sober and frugal. Father was packed ready for moving. Father had gone to look for a tenement. Father beat her because she was drinking. Children appeared to be poorly fed and looked emaciated. Mother appeared to be respectable when sober. Landlord reported that father was steady worker and drank some, but was never drunk. Father was discouraged and disgusted with mother who for past two weeks was drinking continuously. Father had beaten mother several times and landlord objected to this. Father hadn't beaten her since.

On February 5, 1915 priest reported that mother was drinking at new home and father had deserted. Children were malnourished and needed to be removed for neglect. On February tenth mother reported that father had deserted several weeks ago. Now owed several weeks rent. On February seventeenth the children were removed to the WDC. Joseph was emaciated and thin. Edward was weak. Paternal aunt M who was a servant (maid) came to bring food to children and also some clothing. Father hadn't been heard from since his desertion. On February twenty-fifth mother was in court and reported that she was unable to find employment. Was still living in same



place. Made no opposition to placement of children. On May fourth priest reported that father was at rectory. On May fifth agent met father at rectory. Agent placed father under arrest. Father pleaded guilty on no work basis. Probation officer was asked to assist father find employment. Father went to England because he was discouraged with home situation and lost job with gas company for leaving. Worked in London for a while, and then felt guilty for deserting family and returned by working way back on boat. Would like to work for the gas company again. Letter was therefore sent by agent to the Superintendent of the gas company. On May nineteenth the father didn't appear in court and defaulted. On June fourth father still had no work. On June twenty-fifth father reported he had job as fireman on Boston to New York boat at \$40 month plus board. Asked to be allowed to pay up back rent before paying board for children. In September parents were anxious to have children. Parents were doing well. Father was paying up back bills and would soon be able to pay for children or take them home again. Mother was not drinking. Parents asked agent to inspect home. In November parents complained that they couldn't keep up home and at the same time support children outside of the home. Father agreed to pay for children. Father was to pay \$2 a week for support of children. Father was given a suspended sentence of six months in the House of Correction.

In March of 1916 mother claimed that she hadn't been drinking since January when she took the pledge in her church. Priest told her that she would never have children unless she would stop drinking. Hasn't been drinking since. However admitted that both she and father were drunk Christmas. Probation officer reported that father was paying quite regularly though in some arrears. In November probation officer reported that father hadn't paid anything since July when he paid lump sum of \$10. Parents were



place. Made no opposition to placement of children. On May fourth present reported that father was at rectory. On May fifth agent met father at rectory. Agent placed father under arrest. Father pleaded guilty on no work basis. Probation officer was asked to assist father find employment. Father went to England because he was discouraged with home situation and lost job with gas company for leaving. Worked in London for a while, and then felt guilty for deserting family and returned by working way back on boat. Would like to work for the gas company again. Father was therefore sent by agent to the Superintendent of the gas company. On May nineteenth the father didn't appear in court and detained. On June fourth father still had no work. On June twenty-fifth father reported he had job as fireman on Boston to New York boat at \$40 month plus board. Asked to be allowed to pay up back rent before paying board for children. In September parents were anxious to have children. Parents were doing well. Father was paying up back bills and would soon be able to pay for children or take them home again. Mother was not drinking. Parents asked agent to inspect home. In November parents complained that they couldn't keep up home and at the same time support children outside of the home. Father agreed to pay for children. Father was to pay \$3 a week for support of children. Father was given a suspended sentence of six months in the House of Correction.

In March of 1918 mother claimed that she hadn't been drinking since January when she took the pledge in her church. Priest told her that she would never have children unless she would stop drinking. Haven't been drinking since. However admitted that both she and father were drunk Christmas. Probation officer reported that father was paying quite regularly though in some arrears. In November probation officer reported that father hadn't paid anything since July when he paid sum of \$10. Parents were



evicted three months previously because of drinking habits. Lady on first floor met mother recently in intoxicated condition. Father didn't appear in court and a default warrant was issued. Family couldn't be located.

In March of 1917 father and mother were arrested. Father was a fireman at certain farm and made \$18 a week. Handed over \$50 to probation officer for payment of board for children. Father promised that he would pay weekly if he would be allowed to return to work. Non-support charge was therefore placed on file.

In March of 1918 probation officer reported that family was unlocated and that father hadn't paid board for children since last autumn. In March of 1919 still unable to locate family. Father paid irregularly to the court. Children were placed out and were doing well. It was reported that mother had died in the interim. Father's address was not known. Father was known to have been ill a lot the past winter and it was thought that this accounted for his irregular payments. In March of 1920 it was reported that father was unheard of long while and had made no payments for children. Probation officer thought that father might have worked way to England on some transport. In March of 1921 it was reported that children were doing well in foster homes. Paternal aunt M requested that children might be placed in home supported by herself and father. HDCC made investigation of home and found it suitable and children were returned on March 17, 1921.

In March of 1922 children were reported to be well with paternal aunt. Paternal aunt was satisfied with father's payments to her for caring for children. Probation officer reported that children were better off than ever before. Paternal aunt was really interested in children. HDCC had no knowledge of father's present whereabouts.

In March of 1927 it was reported that Edward and Joseph



avoided three months previously because of drinking habits. Lady on first floor had mother recently in intoxicated condition. Father didn't appear in court and a default warrant was issued. Family couldn't be located.

In March of 1914 father and mother were arrested. Father was a fireman at certain time and made \$18 a week. Handed over \$30 to probation officer for payment of bond for children. Father promised that he would pay weekly if he would be allowed to return to work. Non-support charge was therefore placed on file.

In March of 1918 probation officer reported that family was unlocated and that father hadn't paid bond for children since last autumn.

In March of 1919 still unable to locate family. Father paid irregularly to the court. Children were placed out and were doing well. It was reported that mother had died in the interim. Father's address was not known. Father was known to have been ill a lot the past winter and it was thought that this accounted for his irregular payments. In March of 1920 it was reported that father was unkind of long while and had made no payments for children.

Probation officer thought that father might have worked way to England on some transport. In March of 1921 it was reported that children were doing well in foster home. Paternal aunt M requested that children might be placed in home supported by herself and father. HDCC made investigation of home and found it suitable and children were returned on March 17, 1921.

In March of 1922 children were reported to be well with paternal aunt. Paternal aunt was satisfied with father's payments to her for caring for children. Probation officer reported that children were better off than ever before. Paternal aunt was really interested in children.

HDCC had no knowledge of father's present whereabouts.

In March of 1927 it was reported that Edward and Joseph



were in Ireland with their paternal aunt M. Had gone with consent of HDCC. Father and paternal aunt went to see paternal grandmother who was very old and who died while they were there. Latter left them some property. Paternal aunt M wanted to live in Ireland and not return to U.S. HDCC consented that she keep children with her. School certificates were sent to Ireland for both children. Father still was sending money for children's support and was contemplating going to Ireland himself. Father had no more recent record than 9-14-27, drunk for which he was released.

Here we have a clear-cut illustration of the value of the removal from home technique when it is used to relieve children from living in an environment that is detrimental to their development and welfare. This case also illustrates very clearly the sobering effect which this method of treatment often has on parents who cannot control their conduct until they are put under some form of restraint or deprivation by the agencies representing law and order in society.

#### Case XX. DO.FAMILY

Eleanor- eight years and three months; Catherine- four years and ten months.

The parents of these children were reported to be very intemperate folk. Both parents were American by birth and were born in Boston. They were Roman Catholic by religion. They were both about the same age. Father was working as a teamster.

On August 3, 1911 neighbors reported that mother gave up her home over trouble with husband. Mother went to city of B.....

On April 15, 1914 police officer reported that parents were drinking heavily. Father worked and so did mother to a lesser extent. Children were frequently left alone and were badly neglected since there was



were in Ireland with their paternal aunt M. Had gone with consent of  
EDCC. Father and paternal aunt went to see paternal grandmother who was  
very old and who died while they were there. Father left them some property  
Paternal aunt M wanted to live in Ireland and not return to U.S. EDCC con-  
sented that she keep children with her. School certificates were sent to  
Ireland for both children. Father still was sending money for children's  
support and was contemplating going to Ireland himself. Father had no more  
recent record than 2-11-37, drunk for which he was released.

Here we have a clear-cut illustration of the value of the  
removal from home technique when it is used to relieve children from living  
in an environment that is detrimental to their development and welfare.  
This case also illustrates very clearly the sobering effect which this  
method of treatment often has on parents who cannot control their conduct  
until they are put under some form of restraint or deprivation by the  
agencies representing law and order in society.

Case XX. DO. FAMILY  
Elmer - eight years and three months; Catherine - four years and ten  
months.

The parents of these children were reported to be very in-  
temperate folk. Both parents were American by birth and were born in Boston.  
They were Roman Catholic by religion. They were both about the same age.  
Father was working as a teamster.  
On August 3, 1911 neighbors reported that mother gave up  
her home over trouble with husband. Mother went to city of B.....  
On April 18, 1914 police officer reported that parents  
were drinking heavily. Father worked and so did mother to a lesser extent.  
Children were frequently left alone and were badly neglected since there was



no one to look after them. Parents were found at home and mother denied that she was drinking. Said that she worked every day except Sunday and that she left children with Mrs. H. Mother was providing for the family since father was loafing practically all winter and lived on mother's earnings. Father was drunk and appeared to be good-for-nothing. The home was clean and the children appeared to be well-cared for. Police officer reported that father was no good and was drunk all the time. Hasn't worked all winter as far as he knew. On May fourteenth Mrs. H reported that she was caring for Catherine regularly while mother worked. Reported that father was no good and drinks all the time, but never works. Mrs. H. has of her own accord made complaint in court of non-support against father. Father pleaded not guilty. Mother testified and father was found guilty and sent six months to House of Correction which he appealed. April 5, 1915 mother was before the court on charge of drunkenness and violation of city ordinance. Also on January first mother was allowed to go home on personal recognizance to February first but defaulted at the time. Father was at State Farm. Mother was living with people who were said to be drinking. Case was continued to August eighth. Mother was held in sum of \$200 and was unable to furnish bail. Was hence committed to the County Jail. Agent was asked by the probation officer to investigate situation. On April sixth probation officer reported that CCB worker was to take children to HDCC. Children with boarding woman who reported that mother was previously unknown to her, and that mother often used to leave children alone. Children were previously at an orphan asylum. Sunday previous mother became so drunk that she had to call police and have her arrested. Children were taken to the HDCC. On April eighth mother was placed on probation for a year with understanding that she go to the HGS. Default of city ordinance, vix., profanity



no one to look after them. Parents were found at home and mother denied that she was drinking. Said that she worked every day except Sunday and that she left children with Mrs. H. Mother was providing for the family since father was looking practically all winter and lived on mother's earnings. Father was drunk and appeared to be good-for-nothing. The home was clean and the children appeared to be well-cared for. Police officer reported that father was no good and was drunk all the time. Hearn's worked all winter as far as he knew. On May 1st Mrs. H. reported that she was caring for Catherine regularly while mother worked. Reported that father was no good and drinks all the time, but never works. Mrs. H. had of her own accord made complaint in court of non-support against father. Father pleaded not guilty. Mother testified and father was found guilty and sent six months to House of Correction which he appealed. April 8, 1918 mother was before the court on charge of drunkenness and violation of city ordinance. Also on January first mother was allowed to go home on personal recognizance to February first but defaulted at the time. Father was at State Fair. Mother was living with people who were said to be drinking. Case was continued to August eighth. Mother was held in sum of \$200 and was unable to furnish bail. Was hence committed to the County Jail. Agent was asked by the probation officer to investigate situation. On April eighth probation officer reported that CCS worker was to take children to WDC. Children with boarding woman who reported that mother was previously unknown to her, and that mother often used to leave children alone. Children were previously at an orphan asylum. Sunday previous mother became so drunk that she had to call police and have her arrested. Children were taken to the WDC. On April eighth mother was placed on probation for a year with understanding that she go to the HCS. Default of city ordinance, viz., violation



on the street, was filed.

On July 22, 1915 paternal aunt MC said that father was released from the State Farm about six weeks previously. Was since living with her and working as an expressman. Hasn't tasted drink since release and will not do so under her supervision. Mother was to be at HGS for four more months. Paternal aunt felt that father would be better off if he never would live with mother again. Expected to buy horse and wagon for father. Willing to spend a few hundred dollars on him if he behaves. Would like to have children from the HDCC. Said that she was lately from New York, where her husband was still conducting his own business. Said that she would never allow children to go to father without permission of Society. Father's sister and maternal grandmother would not interfere in case according to paternal aunt MC. Seemed to be respectable person. Said that she was never drunk in her life. In July HDCC reported that aunt was at home asking about children and had made favorable impression. HDCC were about to send children on summer vacation but would delay to consider aunt's plea. Aunt left for home soon after making her plea for the children. In December visited father who was with paternal grandmother. Father was recently released from the State Farm. Had had several hemorrhages. Mother was working and so was paternal aunt. Tenement was in fair condition. Father was sick and intoxicated which he however denied. Paternal grandmother also denied drinking. No doctor had been called to stop hemorrhages. On December thirtieth children were returned to mother since she hadn't been drunk since she was on probation.

On April 5, 1916 landlady reported that parents were drinking and that father was beating mother and hollering at all hours of the night. Home consisted of two fairly clean rooms in basement. Father was in



on the street, was filed.

On July 22, 1918 paternal aunt MC said that father was re-  
leased from the State Farm about six weeks previously. Was since living  
with her and working as an experimenter. Haven't tested drink since release  
and will not do so under her supervision. Mother was to be at HOS for four  
more months. Paternal aunt felt that father would be better off if he never  
would live with mother again. Requested to buy horse and wagon for father.  
Willing to spend a few hundred dollars on him if he behaves. Would like to  
have children from the HOC. Said that she was lately from New York, where  
her husband was still conducting his own business. Said that she would  
never allow children to go to father without permission of Society. Father's  
sister and maternal grandmother would not interfere in case according to  
paternal aunt MC. Seemed to be respectable person. Said that she was never  
drunk in her life. In July HOC reported that aunt was at home asking about  
children and had made favorable impression. HOC were about to send children  
on summer vacation but would delay to consider aunt's plan. Aunt left for  
home soon after making her plan for the children. In December visited  
father who was with paternal grandmother. Father was recently released from  
the State Farm. Had had several hemorrhages. Mother was working and so was  
paternal aunt. Tenement was in fair condition. Father was sick and inter-  
ested which he however denied. Paternal grandmother also denied drinking.  
No doctor had been called to stop hemorrhages. On December thirtieth chil-  
dren were returned to mother since she hadn't been drunk since she was on  
probation.

On April 5, 1918 Janney reported that parents were drink-  
ing and that father was beating mother and holister at all hours of the  
night. Home consisted of two fairly clean rooms in basement. Father was in



bed and was intoxicated. Was also cursing and swearing. Mother had been arrested in March for drunkenness and released on recommendation of probation officer. Judge reprimanded and scolded mother and warned her of further consequences. On April sixth mother again went to HGS saying that with man like father no one could behave. On April eleventh landlady reported that she put father out and that children were with paternal grandmother, who promised to care for them. Landlady blamed mother for father's drinking and wouldn't believe that father was drunk. Paternal grandmother had black eye and there were six or seven disreputable looking women in the kitchen. No liquor in sight. On April thirteenth father was at court with children. Agent reported actions of parents for past month. Children were again removed to HDCC.

Later probation In April of 1917 probation officer reported that parents had been sentenced to State Farm in September and had been released in February. Parents were now living with paternal grandmother. Home was supported by paternal uncle and paternal aunt MC. Home was very clean. Father was driving a coal truck and mother was working by the day. Parents were supposed to be doing very well and even saving money in the bank. Agent however protested return of children to parents. Paternal aunt said that she would care for them and Judge finally agreed to give agent time to investigate. Mother reported father was earning \$16 a week. Coal company for which father worked reported that father worked about three weeks this time and short while before was discharged for drunkenness. Father could work if he didn't drink. Children however returned to parents on April twelfth. On May eleventh mother was arrested for drunkenness and sent to jail on default of \$100 bond. Probation officer reported that mother was arrested by private citizen who held her for police officers. Latter said that



and was intoxicated. Was also cursing and swearing. Mother had been arrested in March for drunkenness and released on recommendation of probation officer. Judge reprimanded and scolded mother and warned her of further consequences. On April sixth mother again went to HCS saying that with man like father no one could behave. On April eleventh immediately reported that she put father out and that children were with paternal grandmother, who promised to care for them. Immediately blamed mother for father's drinking and wouldn't believe that father was drunk. Paternal grandmother had black eye and there were six or seven distinguishable looking women in the kitchen. No liquor in sight. On April thirteenth father was at court with children. Agent reported actions of parents for past month. Children were again removed to HCCU.

In April of 1917 probation officer reported that parents had been sentenced to State Farm in September and had been released in February. Parents were now living with paternal grandmother. Home was supported by paternal uncle and paternal aunt. Home was very clean. Father was driving a coal truck and mother was working by the day. Parents were supposed to be doing very well and even saving money in the bank. Agent however protested return of children to parents. Paternal aunt said that she would care for them and Judge finally agreed to give agent time to investigate. Mother reported father was earning \$12 a week. Coal company for which father worked reported that father worked about three weeks this time and short while before was discharged for drunkenness. Father could work at no drink's drink. Children however returned to parents on April twelfth. On May eleventh mother was arrested for drunkenness and sent to jail on default of \$100 bond. Probation officer reported that mother was arrested by private citizen who held her for police officers. Letter said that



mother took \$40 from him while in room with him but failed to prosecute mother because of fear of implications. Paternal grandmother reported that mother hadn't been seen since she went to work on Monday.

Father was working for a coal company and paternal grandmother claimed he wasn't drinking. Children were attending parochial school. Mother was given suspended sentence to State Farm by court. Children were to remain with paternal grandmother pending good behavior of father and mother's staying away from children. On October twenty-third father was still with paternal grandmother. Mother was arrested and was now in the HGS because of preferred adultery charge and filed charge of drunkenness. Children reported all right in mother's absence.

On October 23, 1918 family had moved and was not located. Later probation officer reported mother was caught in immoral act with man by Eleanor and neighbors. Mother was also drinking. Father died on October third at the House of Correction. Was still awaiting burial. Warrant was issued for mother, and children were to be held by probation officer if mother were arrested. On October twenty-sixth probation officer reported mother in court. Would probably be sent to the Reformatory for Women. Children were to be taken home by paternal aunt. One of children was witness against the mother. Mother was ordered committed to Reformatory and she appealed. She was ordered to recognize in sum of \$500 before the November term of the court. Judge ordered agent to dispose of children, as Society saw fit. On November twenty-ninth mother was sentenced to three months jail.

In October of 1919 mother's address was unknown. HDCC reported children placed out in good homes. Nothing was known of mother's location. Felt that if mother's reputation was so bad, children should



mother took \$40 from his wife in room with him but failed to prosecute mother because of fear of impositions. Paternal grandmother reported that mother hadn't been seen since she went to work on Monday. Father was working for a coal company and paternal grandmother claimed he wasn't drinking. Children were attending parochial school. Mother was given suspended sentence to State Farm by court. Children were to remain with paternal grandmother pending good behavior of father and mother's staying away from children. On October twenty-third father was still with paternal grandmother. Mother was arrested and was now in the HOB because of preferred adultery charge and filed charge of drunkenness. Children reported all right in mother's absence.

On October 23, 1918 family had moved and was not located. Later probation officer reported mother was caught in immoral act with man by Elmer and neighbors. Mother was also drinking. Father died on October third at the House of Correction. Was still awaiting trial. Warrant was issued for mother, and children were to be held by probation officer if mother were arrested. On October twenty-sixth probation officer reported mother in court. Would probably be sent to the Reformatory for Women. Children were to be taken home by paternal aunt. One of children was witness against the mother. Mother was ordered committed to Reformatory and she appealed. She was ordered to recognize in sum of \$500 before the November term of the court. Judge ordered agent to dispose of children, as Society saw fit. On November twenty-ninth mother was sentenced to three months jail.

In October of 1919 mother's address was unknown. HOC reported children placed out in good homes. Nothing was known of mother's location. Felt that if mother's reputation was no bad, children should



never be permitted to stay with her. In October of 1920 mother made no application for children and address was still unknown. In September of 1925 Social Service of the City Hospital reported that mother living with two daughters at such address, and that Eleanor who was working in a laundry was in infectious stage of syphilis and had come to skin clinic. Eleanor refused to give mother correct diagnosis and continued to sleep with mother and sister Catherine. Social worker was forced to tell mother and mother agreed that girl be removed and treated. Mother wasn't drunk but smelled of liquor. Probation officer felt that action should be taken. Eleanor was committed to Women's Reformatory as stubborn child. Latter appealed. Agent inquired of HDCC how it was that Catherine was reported in free home and Eleanor with relative though they were with mother under bad conditions even though under court continuance. Probation officer in another court also didn't give cooperation on surrendering Eleanor because of syphilis even after explanation of situation was made. Other probation officer excused self by saying that she thought that Eleanor was too old for the Home and that she didn't know that Catherine was home with mother. Later HDCC reported that Catherine had been removed from home. Mother appeared to be taking drugs. Home conditions were not very bad, but Eleanor was riding with other girls and men other day. HDCC superintendent was surprised that Eleanor was arrested so many times without anyone ever letting him know about this, especially blamed Eleanor's probation officer who knew that she was in care and custody of the HDCC. Superintendent of HDCC had been fooled by paternal aunt's good appearance into giving children to her two years ago and latter had handed children over to mother. Later probation officer reported mother under influence of liquor. Mother said that Eleanor was at hospital for treatment, and that she didn't know what



never be permitted to stay with her. In October of 1930 mother made no application for children and address was still unknown. In September of 1932 Social Service of the City Hospital reported that mother living with two daughters at such address, and that Eleanor who was working in a laundry was in infectious stage of syphilis and had come to skin clinic. Eleanor refused to give mother correct diagnosis and continued to sleep with mother and sister Catherine. Social worker was forced to tell mother and mother agreed that girl be removed and treated. Mother wasn't drunk but smelted of liquor. Probation officer felt that action should be taken. Eleanor was committed to Women's Reformatory as stubborn child. Latter appealed. Agent inquired of HDOC how it was that Catherine was reported in free home and Eleanor with relative though they were with mother under bad conditions even though under court confinement. Probation officer in another court also didn't give cooperation on transferring Eleanor because of syphilis even after explanation of situation was made. Other probation officer excused self by saying that she thought that Eleanor was too old for the home and that she didn't know that Catherine was home with mother. Later HDOC reported that Catherine had been removed from home. Mother appeared to be taking drugs. Home conditions were not very bad, but Eleanor was riding with other girls and men other day. HDOC superintendent was surprised that Eleanor was arrested so many times without anyone ever telling him know about this, especially blamed Eleanor's probation officer who knew that she was in care and custody of the HDOC. Superintendent of HDOC had been fooled by paternal aunt's good appearance into giving children to her two years ago and latter had handed children over to mother. Later probation officer reported mother under influence of liquor. Mother said that Eleanor was at hospital for treatment, and that she didn't know what



was matter with Eleanor. However probation officer became suspicious and found Eleanor hiding under couch and gave her choice between going voluntarily to the House of the Good Samaritan or being surrendered to Judge. Eleanor agreed to go to the House of the Good Samaritan where medical treatment was arranged. Eleanor had six more months probation and probation officer was going to try to get it extended for another year. On October fifteenth attorney asked whether Catherine could be placed with paternal grandmother. In November City Hospital was notified of accomplishments.

In June of 1927 HDCC reported that attorney asked to have Catherine's case filed. Attorney reported that mother kept good home and was working in laundry at good pay. Eleanor when she had full week made between \$47 and \$50 a week as fancy stitcher in shoe factory. Eleanor came to court with mother. Catherine was living with a police officer's family, and foster mother was annoyed with some of her habits and wanted to get rid of her. Mother reported that Eleanor was behaving since returning from the House of the Good Samaritan last autumn. Not going around with man any more. Mother was not drinking for a long while and thought she should be allowed to have Catherine. Mother has had no record since 11-6-18. Eleanor has long record from 12-11-22 larceny through 5-12-24 stubborn child; 7-5-24 profanity; 9-10-24 larceny; 2-17-25 drunk; 3-5-25 drunk and stubborn; 7-5-27 drunk; and 9-7-27 drunk; nothing further.

Here we have a family maladjusted socially and economically. The main symptom of the problem is the intemperance and instability of the parents. Probably both had something emotionally wrong with them which made it impossible for them to adjust to their situations without the aid of liquor. The parents furnished absolutely no patterns for the children to live up to. The children had to be continually removed until about twelve



was matter with Eleanor. However probation officer became suspicious and found Eleanor hiding under couch and gave her choice between going voluntarily to the House of the Good Samaritan or being surrendered to Judge. Eleanor agreed to go to the House of the Good Samaritan where medical treatment was arranged. Eleanor had six more months probation and probation officer was going to try to get it extended for another year. On October fifteenth attorney asked whether Catherine could be placed with paternal grandmother. In November City Hospital was notified of accomplishments. In June of 1937 HCC reported that attorney asked to have Catherine's case filed. Attorney reported that mother kept good home and was working in laundry at good pay. Eleanor when she had full week made between \$47 and \$50 a week as fancy stitcher in shoe factory. Eleanor came to court with mother. Catherine was living with a police officer's family, and foster mother was annoyed with some of her habits and wanted to get rid of her. Mother reported that Eleanor was behaving worse since returning from the House of the Good Samaritan last autumn. Not going around with men any more. Mother was not drinking for a long while and thought she should be allowed to have Catherine. Mother has had no record since 11-6-18. Eleanor has long record from 12-11-32 larceny through 5-18-34 subpoena child; 7-5-34 probation; 9-10-34 larceny; 3-19-35 drunk; 7-5-35 drunk and subpoena; 7-5-37 drunk; and 9-7-37 drunk; nothing further.

Here we have a family maladjusted socially and economically. The main symptom of the problem is the intemperance and instability of the parents. Probably both had something emotionally wrong with them which made it impossible for them to adjust to their situations without the aid of liquor. The parents furnished absolutely no pattern for the children to live up to. The children had to be continually removed until about twelve



years afterward children were no longer minors and could be followed by the court and the Society no longer. Nevertheless Catherine had probably been saved from degenerating to the level of her parents as is shown by the fact that she has no delinquent record of any kind to this day. Eleanor did have more experience with the degenerate parents because she was with them longer and was older and understood more. Also such trauma as finding her mother having illicit relations probably had some effect in bringing about her own emotional instability and unrest, and led her into the many delinquencies she has been caught at. Also her diseased condition came about probably as the result of loose morals which one almost might say was her heritage from her parents. However the long follow up of all the agencies interested has been beneficial in sobering the mother somewhat and in halting Eleanor's increasingly criminal career. The case is also interesting from the point of view of showing how even social agencies bungle up matters despite all the care they take to do their work carefully and accurately, as in the fact that Catherine and Eleanor lived with their mother when she was still irresponsible while the agencies were under the impression that the children were placed in good foster homes. Shows lack of cooperation from some quarters.

#### Case XXI. BT.FAMILY

Edward- thirteen years; Elsie- eight years.

The mother of these children was feeble-minded and intemperate, and was found to be immoral as well. Father was away from home and was serving in the navy as a skilled mechanic. Mother placed children with a colored woman and when father returned he objected to this placement. Parents were American by birth and Roman Catholic by religion.



years afterward children were no longer minors and could be followed by the court and the Society no longer. Nevertheless Catherine had probably been saved from degenerating to the level of her parents as is shown by the fact that she has no delinquent record of any kind to this day. Eleanor did have more experience with the degenerate parents because she was with them longer and was older and understood more. Also such parents as finding her mother having little relations probably had some effect in bringing about her own emotional instability and unrest, and led her into the many delinquencies she has been caught at. Also her diseased condition came about probably as the result of loose morals which one almost might say was her heritage from her parents. However the long follow up of all the agencies interested has been beneficial in sobering the mother somewhat and in helping Eleanor's increasingly criminal career. The case is also interesting from the point of view of showing how even social agencies bump up matters despite all the care they take to do their work carefully and accurately. As in the fact that Catherine and Eleanor lived with their mother when she was still irresponsible while the agencies were under the impression that the children were placed in good foster homes. Shows lack of cooperation from some quarters.

Case XVI. ET. FAMILY  
Edward - thirteen years; Marie - eight years.  
The mother of these children was feeble-minded and insane, and was found to be immoral as well. Father was away from home and was serving in the navy as a skilled mechanic. Mother placed children with a colored woman and when father returned he objected to this placement. Parents were American by birth and Roman Catholic by religion.



On June 22, 1915 it was reported that Edward and Elsie were boarding with a colored woman Mrs. C who seemed to be giving them reasonably good care. However Mrs. C seemed to be in poor health and Elsie was also rather delicate. Mother was leading a disreputable life. Owed thirty dollars in board for children. Father was working on the U.S.S. N..... as a first class machinist and was not aware of mother's condition. Mrs. C wanted children removed from her care as she wasn't well. Edward seemed to be very bright child and reported that mother was drinking and consorting with men. Mother had left the children with Mrs. C since August 1914, presumably because she had to go to work in a bakery. She did work there for a short while and was paying \$5 a week board on the basis of four weeks in a month. Mother had come to see children only six times. Board money was always left with maternal grandmother. Edward was doing well in school, but was having trouble with his eyes. Mrs. C had three children of her own, the youngest of whom was illegitimate. Father was now on leave of absence and said that he made \$44 a month. Said that he wanted children placed elsewhere. Mother appeared to be slovenly and said she was sick and hence couldn't come to see children much during last six months. However didn't look as if she had been ill. Maternal grandmother promised to care for children if no other place were found but has two young children herself by a second marriage. A certain Mrs D reported that mother boarded with her for two months as Mrs. C in company of a Mr. C. In July father reported that he was going to an aviation camp in Florida to serve out term of enlistment. May bring family down later. Children were to be boarded with brother's mother-in-law Mrs. F. On July tenth Edward was with Mrs. F. Elsie had measles and wasn't transferred yet. To receive \$20 a month board for children. Home fairly good. On July twentieth Mrs. C reported that mother and



On June 22, 1915 it was reported that Edward and Elsie were  
boarding with a colored woman Mrs. C who seemed to be giving them reasonably  
good care. However Mrs. C seemed to be in poor health and Elsie was also  
rather delicate. Mother was leading a respectable life. Owed thirty dol-  
lars in board for children. Father was working on the U.S.S. W. .... as a  
first class machinist and was not aware of mother's condition. Mrs. C  
wanted children removed from her care as she wasn't well. Edward seemed to  
be very bright child and reported that mother was drinking and consorting  
with men. Mother had left the children with Mrs. C since August 1914, pre-  
sumably because she had to go to work in a bakery. She did work there for  
a short while and was paying \$5 a week board on the basis of four weeks in a  
month. Mother had come to see children only six times. Board money was  
always left with maternal grandmother. Edward was doing well in school, but  
was having trouble with his eyes. Mrs. C had three children of her own, the  
youngest of whom was illegitimate. Father was now on leave of absence and  
said that he made \$44 a month. Said that he wanted children placed else-  
where. Mother appeared to be slovenly and said she was sick and home-  
sickness came to see children much during last six months. However didn't  
look as if she had been ill. Maternal grandmother promised to care for  
children if no other place were found but has two young children herself by  
a second marriage. A certain Mrs. D reported that mother boarded with her  
for two months as Mrs. C in company of a Mr. C. In July father reported that  
he was going to an aviation camp in Florida to serve out term of enlistment.  
May bring family down later. Children were to be boarded with brother's  
mother-in-law Mrs. F. On July tenth Edward was with Mrs. F. Elsie had  
measles and wasn't transferred yet. To receive \$30 a month board for chil-  
dren. Home fairly good. On July twentieth Mrs. C reported that mother and



maternal grandmother objected to placing Elsie with Mrs. F and hence she remained with her. Mother was working in a candy store in M.... and said she would take Elsie herself if she continued to work. In August it was reported that father stopped allotment of \$35 a month to mother because she refused to place Elsie as he desired. Later mother reported that mother beat her up and took children to maternal grand aunt in F...R.... Mother said that she would apply for divorce.

In October it was reported that children were placed with maternal grand aunt. Latter said that she would keep children only as long as board was paid.

In October of 1920 Mrs. Y reported concerning family. Father had two children and enticed wife of another man to come and live with him. Latter gave birth to an illegitimate child by him. Father was very cruel to Edward and beat him so hard that he left marks on his body. In November informant reported that woman's name was Mrs. J. Latter's sister objected to present arrangement. Mr. J was Protestant and Mrs. J was Catholic. On November eleventh the DCG reported that they received illegitimate child Dorothy born to mother by Mr. M of city of W.... where mother and Mr. M were arrested. Mother had left this illegitimate child with colored woman on March 1919. Mother was arrested for drunkenness and Mr. M on bastardy complaint. Dorothy was with the Trustees of the City of Boston. Edward was being treated at the Dispensary for congenital syphilis. Father left navy in 1916.

Mrs. J reported that her husband didn't object to her living with Mr BT(father). Mr.J was abusive to her and gave her only \$6 a week to run home. Mrs. J planned to get a divorce from Mr. J as soon as possible and marry Mr. BT. Mrs. J said that she and father were not intemperate.



maternal grandmother objected to placing Elsie with Mrs. Y and Elsie and remained with her. Mother was working in a candy store in M. . . . and said she would take Elsie herself if she continued to work. In August it was reported that father stopped Elsie at \$35 a month to mother because she refused to place Elsie as he desired. Later mother reported that mother beat her up and took children to maternal grand aunt in Y. . . . Mother said that she would apply for divorce.

In October it was reported that children were placed with maternal grand aunt. Father said that she would keep children only as long as board was paid.

In October of 1930 Mrs. Y reported concerning father. Father had two children and enticed wife of another man to come and live with him. Father gave birth to an illegitimate child by him. Father was very cruel to Edward and beat him so hard that he left marks on his body. In November instant reported that woman's name was Mrs. J. Father's sister objected to present arrangement. Mr. J was Protestant and Mrs. J was Catholic. On

November eleventh the DCS reported that they received illegitimate child Dorothy born to mother by Mr. M of city of W. . . . where mother and Mr. M were arrested. Mother had left this illegitimate child with colored woman on March 1919. Mother was arrested for drunkenness and Mr. M on bastardy complaint. Dorothy was with the Trustees of the City of Boston. Edward was being treated at the Dispensary for congenital syphilis. Father left navy

in 1918.

Mrs. J reported that her husband didn't object to her living with Mr. BT (father). Mr. J was abusive to her and gave her only \$5 a week to run home. Mrs. J planned to get a divorce from Mr. J as soon as possible and marry Mr. BT. Mrs. J said that she and father were not interested.



Father was a good man, kind, and a hard-worker. Father gave her \$30 a week out of which she was also paying \$6.50 in rent. Both however drink Italian wine. Home was bare and unfurnished. Little coal in house and only one fire in kitchen. Home was however clean and well-kept. Baby seemed to be in good condition. Father admitted that all of Mrs. J's statements were true. Acknowledged paternity of Leo. Father wanted to marry Mrs. J as soon as possible and will continue paying on furniture. Father was willing to move to separate room if children could continue to live with Mrs. J. Didn't want state to take children. Had a good job. Said mother served divorce papers on him September 1920. Mother didn't ask custody of children. Mrs. J agreed to separate from father and not to cohabit with him. Later father said he was going to take smaller apartment for Mrs. J and the children and a room for himself nearby his place of work. Had already paid up about \$250 on \$650 furniture bill. Agreed to give children necessary hospital care. Mrs. J agreed to live up to agent's requirements. Agent to visit at any time. Father moved on November sixteenth. Father reported Mr. J used to abuse Mrs. J and said that they were not trying for divorce since they feared excommunication from the Church. Father had been altar boy when a child and caused paternal grandfather who was Protestant to turn Catholic. Father said he got along well with Edward and that when he and Mrs. J went to movie show they took children with them.

On November twenty-third agent found in court records decree for divorce nisi for desertion, which was granted by court. No order was made concerning children. No request for custody was made by mother in the libel. Maternal grand aunt W said that it was understood when divorce was granted that mother was to see children once a week and they were to be brought to home of mother by informant. In December there was still no



Father was a good man, kind, and a hard-worker. Father gave her \$20 a week out of which she was also paying \$6.50 in rent. Both however drink Tealish wine. Home was here and unfurnished. Little coal in house and only one live in kitchen. Home was however clean and well-kept. Baby seemed to be in good condition. Father admitted that all of Mrs. J's statements were true. Acknowledged paternity of Leo. Father wanted to marry Mrs. J as soon as possible and will continue paying on furniture. Father was willing to move to separate from if children could continue to live with Mrs. J. Diana's want state to take children. Had a good job. Said mother served divorce papers on him September 1930. Mother didn't ask custody of children. Mrs. J agreed to separate from father and not to cohabit with him. Later father said he was going to take smaller apartment for Mrs. J and the children and a room for himself nearby his place of work. Had already paid up about \$250 on \$350 furniture bill. Agreed to give children necessary hospital care. Mrs. J agreed to live up to agent's requirements. Agent to visit at any time. Father moved on November sixteenth. Father reported Mr. J read to about Mrs. J and said that they were not trying for divorce since they feared excommunication from the Church. Father had been altar boy when a child and cannot paternal grandfather who was Protestant to turn Catholic. Father said he got along well with Edward and that when he and Mrs. J went to movie show they took children with them.

On November twenty-third agent found in court records decree for divorce nisi for desertion, which was granted by court. No other was made concerning children. No request for custody was made by mother in the libel. Maternal grand said that it was understood when divorce was granted that mother was to see children once a week and they were to be brought to home of mother by informant. In December there was still no



order concerning custody of children and father said that he was working three days per week. Was having breakfast and supper with children and left at 8 p.m. when children went to bed. Was to try to get work in store doing up bundles. Wouldn't take relief until forced to do so.

Mrs. J now wanted to divorce Mr. J and marry father. Desired to legitimize Leo and have the right to live open and free life, Elsie was well-cared for, and Mrs. J had made five dresses for her. On December twentieth Mrs. J made agent wait long while before allowing agent to enter. Was in company of Mrs. B who was divorcee whose children had been taken by the state. Had been thrown out by father once before, and mother said that she didn't like Mrs. B's company since latter was trying her best to make more trouble for her. Father was working and employer sent a bundle of second hand baby clothing for Leo. In December agent found Mrs. J in company of EH who said he had been gassed in the U.S. Army at Argonne. Left house at noon presumably to look for a job. Mother admitted she was drinking Italian wine. Said she didn't like to have Mrs. B come to house as she was a snooper. Edward and Elsie came home from school and were served a good lunch by Mrs. J.

Mrs. J's aunt reported that Mrs. J was industrious person but liked to drink. Reported that Mr. J was to blame for the whole affair since he allowed it right under his nose and was abusive to Mrs. J. Also was drunkard. Mrs. J's aunt, Mrs. RS, hoped that Mrs. J could marry father and keep children as she really loved them and was a good housekeeper. Mrs. RS' home was in excellent shape. On December twenty-third agent investigated father's room and warned mother against drinking. Mrs. J admitted that father had been there with EH day that she wouldn't admit agent and that was only time that she was drunk. Agent warned her that children would be taken if she didn't stop drinking. Children were in good condition and a nice pot



order concerning custody of children and father said that he was working three days per week. Was having breakfast and supper with children and left at 8 p.m. when children went to bed. Was to try to get work in store during my absence. Wouldn't take relief until forced to do so.

Mrs. J now wanted to divorce Mr. J and marry father. He stated to legitimize her and have the right to live open and free life. He was well-cared for, and Mrs. J had made five dresses for her. On December twentieth Mrs. J made agent wait long while before allowing agent to enter. Was in company of Mrs. B who was divorcee whose children had been taken by the state. Had been thrown out by father once before, and mother said that she didn't like Mrs. B's company since father was trying not best to make more trouble for her. Father was working and employer sent a bundle of second hand baby clothing for her. In December agent found Mrs. J in company of EH who said he had been passed in the U.S. City of Arizona. Left house at noon presumably to look for a job. Mother admitted she was drinking Indian wine. Said she didn't like to have Mrs. B come to house as she was a taxpayer. Edward and Elsie came home from school and were served a good lunch by Mrs. J.

Mrs. J's aunt reported that Mrs. J was industrious person and liked to drink. Reported that Mr. J was so drunk for the whole affair since he allowed it right under his nose and was abusive to Mrs. J. Also was drunkard. Mrs. J's aunt, Mrs. EH, hoped that Mrs. J could marry father and keep children as she really loved them and was a good housekeeper. Mrs. EH's home was in excellent shape. On December twenty-third agent investigated father's room and warned mother against drinking. Mrs. J admitted that father had been there with EH day that she wouldn't admit agent and that was only time that she was drunk. Agent warned her that children would be taken if she didn't stop drinking. Children were in good condition and a nice pot



of stew was on stove waiting for them to come home for lunch. Agent also warned Mrs. J against allowing Mrs. B to come to home. Day before Christmas mother reported that Mrs. B was scared by agent's warning and was now afraid to come to home. On December twenty-sixth agent found father in home. Father agreed to move to more decent and smaller flat. Denied heavy drinking and said that he and Mrs. J drank only some wine. Father was ill. On December twenty-seventh Mrs. J said that she now wanted to divorce Mr. J and marry father. On January 2, 1921 Mrs. J reported that she was lonely. Father was afraid to stay after meals and Mrs. J asked Mrs. B to leave on New Years Eve when she had come to home with a bottle of whiskey. Mrs. J said that she was willing to do right. Agent said that father could stay until children went to bed or left the home. On February fifteenth Edward reported he saw mother at Dispensary taking same treatment as he was (for syphilitic infection).

We now turn to the case record of the J family. On April thirteenth in 1921 Mr. BT was working at a garage in city of F.....R.... and was gone for seven weeks. Said of baby that he "was the ideal of his life". Expressed desire and anxiety to marry mother. Home was at this time very dirty. On April 28, 1921 father (Mr. J) reported that he was willing to divorce mother. Bore mother no malice for her treatment of him. Said he was still drinking though less than before. Mr. BT was at home with baby (Leo). Mrs. B was there and was chased out at request of agent. House was now very dirty and untidy. Mr. BT didn't deny mother (Mrs. J) was drinking. Said he would warn her that he would board children elsewhere if she didn't stop. Wanted to marry mother and thought she would be all right thereafter. Wanted to send mother and children to New Hampshire for the summer to some distant relatives or to take four room house in H... P.... at \$17 a month



of slow was an stove waiting for them to come home for lunch. Agent also  
warned Mrs. J against allowing Mrs. B to come to home. Day before Christmas  
another reported that Mrs. B was scared by agent's warning and was now afraid  
to come to home. On December twenty-sixth agent found father in home. Father  
agreed to move to more decent and smaller flat. Denied heavy drinking and  
said that he and Mrs. J drank only some wine. Father was ill. On December  
twenty-seventh Mrs. J said that she now wanted to divorce Mr. J and marry  
father. On January 2, 1931 Mrs. J reported that she was lonely. Father was  
afraid to stay after meals and Mrs. J asked Mrs. B to leave on New Year's Eve  
when she had come to home with a bottle of whiskey. Mrs. J said that she  
was willing to do right. Agent said that father could stay with children  
went to bed or left the home. On February fifteenth Edward reported he saw  
mother at Dispensary taking some treatment as he was (for syphilis) later-  
tion.

We now turn to the case record of the J family. On April  
thirtieth in 1931 Mr. BT was working at a garage in city of W.....  
and was gone for seven weeks. Said of baby that he "was the ideal of his  
life". Expressed desire and anxiety to marry mother. Home was at this time  
very dirty. On April 28, 1931 father (Mr. J) reported that he was willing to  
divorce mother. Bore mother no malice for her treatment of him. Said he  
was still drinking though less than before. Mr. BT was at home with baby  
(Doc). Mrs. B was there and was chased out at request of agent. House was  
now very dirty and untidy. Mr. BT didn't deny mother (Mrs. J) was drinking.  
Said he would warn her that he would board children elsewhere if she didn't  
stop. Wanted to marry mother and thought she would be all right thereafter.  
Wanted to send mother and children to New Hampshire for the summer to some  
distant relative or to take four room house in B.... at \$15 a month



and hire large piece of land with another man for \$5 and grow vegetables. In May mother had black eye and said that she had fallen down the stairs. House was much cleaner. Maternal grandmother bought new dress for Elsie. Mother had only wretched clothing. Evidently there was no money for other things after food and rent bills were paid up. Mother said she was willing to wait till September when father could sue for divorce on grounds of desertion. Father was not willing to pay for the divorce. In June mother applied for aid since they didn't have enough and father was not eating in home for that reason. FWS voted temporary aid for this reason.

In July Mr. BT gave up room because he couldn't afford it and slept in "flop houses" at fifteen cents a night. Paternal aunt, Mrs. BT gave mother \$1 and promised to bring shoes for Elsie. Mother was drinking Jamaica Ginger for cramps in the stomach. Mother received notice to quit for failure to pay rent. Mr. BT finally got job back. On July eleventh landlady reported that Mr. BT returned at 2 a.m. staggering drunk Sunday morning. Agent found Mr. BT and man "Pat" drunk in home and ordered them out. Mother was hidden in closet and was much ashamed. Admitted she had had one glass. Mr. BT and "Pat" were supposed to be going on trip on ship for a week to Virginia as they had a job on the S.S.M..... On July twelfth mother was drunk, sick, and was vomiting. Said that she had to move on Thursday and Elsie was found to be very dirty. Landlady reported family as being very intemperate. Children were reported dirty and unkempt. Edward lied about Mr. BT not being there. Mr. BT made gesture of kissing them all good-bye, saying that he was leaving for two weeks. On July 13, 1921 "Pat" and young girl were found in dining room. Mr. BT also in home and said that he had missed the boat. Young lady boasted that she had money to burn and was very impudent. Complaint of neglect was made in court against all three



and hire large piece of land with another man for \$5 and grow vegetables. In  
his mother had black eye and said that she had fallen down the stairs. Thomas  
was much cleaner. Material grandmother bought new dress for Elsie. Mother  
and only wretched clothing. Evidently there was no money for other things  
after food and rent bills were paid up. Mother said she was willing to wait  
till September when father could sue for divorce on grounds of desertion.  
Father was not willing to pay for the divorce. In June mother applied for  
aid since they didn't have enough and father was not eating in home for that  
reason. FWS voted temporary aid for this reason.

In July Mr. BT gave up room because he couldn't afford it  
and slept in "flip houses" at fifteen cents a night. Paternal aunt, Mrs. BT  
gave mother \$1 and promised to bring shoes for Elsie. Mother was drinking  
Jamaica Ginger for orange in the stomach. Mother received notice to quit  
for failure to pay rent. Mr. BT finally got job back. On July eleventh  
landlady reported that Mr. BT returned at 3 a.m. staggering drunk Sunday  
morning. Agent found Mr. BT and man "Pat" drunk in home and ordered them  
out. Mother was hidden in closet and was much ashamed. Admitted she had  
had one glass. Mr. BT and "Pat" were supposed to be going on trip on ship  
for a week to Virginia as they had a job on the S.S.M. .... On July twelfth  
mother was drunk, sick, and was vomiting. Said that she had to move on  
Thursday and Elsie was found to be very dirty. Landlady reported family as  
being very insanitary. Children were reported dirty and unkempt. Edward  
lied about Mr. BT not being there. Mr. BT made gesture of kissing them all  
good-bye, saying that he was leaving for two weeks. On July 13, 1931 "Pat"  
and young girl were found in dining room. Mr. BT also in home and said that  
he had missed the boat. Young lady boasted that she had money to turn and  
was very impudent. Complaint of neglect was made in court against all three



children. On July fourteenth Leo was placed in mother's possession and Edward and Elsie were placed care and custody of HDCC. Leo also in care and custody of SPCC though mother's possession. Furniture Company also announced on this date that furniture was to be removed for non-payment. On July sixteenth at Temporary Home for Working Women. (All references in parenthesis until we come to BT case record again refer to information in that record which is concomitant with the J family record). (On July fifteenth children were adjudged neglected and Edward was committed to City Institutions Department for treatment, father to have him returned when treatment completed. Institutions Department report that they would try to place Edward who was sent by them temporarily to the HDCC. Elsie was also placed with the HDCC.) Leo in mother's possession. (On July seventeenth father was reported to be asking that Elsie be placed with maternal grand aunt W. On July nineteenth father was reported to be a drinker by fellow-lodger. On July twentieth proprietor of neighboring grocery store reported that father was drunk last three days. That Mrs. B was kind to family and that Mrs. J was cause of father's drinking.)

On July twenty-second mother was with her brother in Q.P. who bought her new clothing and will care for her and for Leo. (On July twenty-second father was with his brother and his sister-in-law asked if she could have Elsie with her as she had no children of her own, though married nine years. Edward was reported to be with maternal grand aunt W and sleeps on couch in her home. Latter wanted to have Elsie also. Agent however discouraged this plan for while being. In August mother's probation officer (i.e., the mother of Edward and Elsie) was reported as having record in 1919 of larceny, lewd and lascivious, and charge of nightwalking. Mother's mentality was now little over seven years and Wassermann was positive. Mother was married to FJR. Later in August Probation Officer reported that both M



children. On July fourteenth Leo was placed in mother's possession and Edward and Elsie were placed care and custody of HDCC. Leo also in care and custody of HDCC through mother's possession. Furniture Company also announced on this date that furniture was to be removed for non-payment. On July sixteenth at Temporary Home for Working Women. (All references in parentheses until we come to ST case record again refer to information in that record which is concomitant with the 3 family record). (On July fifteenth children were adjudged neglected and Edward was committed to City Institutions Department for treatment, father to have him returned when treatment completed. Institutions Department report that they would try to place Edward who was sent by them temporarily to the HDCC. Elsie was also placed with the HDCC.) Leo in mother's possession. (On July seventeenth father was reported to be asking that Elsie be placed with maternal grand aunt W. On July nineteenth father was reported to be a drinker by fellow-lodger. On July twentieth prior of neighboring grocery store reported that father was drunk last three days. That Mrs. B was kind to family and that Mrs. J was cause of father's drinking.)

On July twenty-second mother was with her brother in P.P. who bought her new clothing and will care for her and for Leo. (On July twenty-second father was with his brother and his sister-in-law asked if she could have Elsie with her as she had no children of her own, though married nine years. Edward was reported to be with maternal grand aunt W and Elsie on couch in her home. Father wanted to have Elsie also. Agent however discouraged this plan for while being. In Agent mother's probation officer (i.e., the mother of Edward and Elsie) was reported as having record in 1919 of larceny, lewd and lascivious, and charge of nightwalking. Mother's mental history was now little over seven years and Wassermann was positive. Mother was married to M.R. Later in August Probation Officer reported that both M



and mother were contributing to the support of their illegitimate daughter Dorothy. Didn't think much of Edward's foster home since mother was arrested for drunkenness from there in 1919.)

In October mother(Mrs.J) was caring for the housework for Mrs. MCL, her sister-in-law and was doing dressmaking. Mother has new interest in her child and was warned that she would have to leave brother's house if she drank or returned to her friends. Mother promised to stay in brother's home and Leo seemed to be looking much better. Putative father BT was sending money but wasn't working regularly. On January 11, 1922 mother reported Mr. BT sending about seven dollars a week. Wanted to marry him. Sister-in-law reported that mother was doing well and that baby was also well cared for. Home was very attractive and tidy. (On January sixteenth father's sister-in-law reported that father was away about four weeks. Didn't know where he was. Now didn't want responsibility of Elsie as she had decided that she wanted to go to work.) On January seventeenth mother's sister-in-law was at office and reported that mother was sober but reported that Mr. BT was living on same street in her brother's home(that is sister-in-law's brother). Putative father was calling on mother but they never went out alone with each other. Mrs. MCL wanted agent to make allowances for their mutual fondness for each other. Mrs. MCL intimated that she wouldn't be sorry if mother left as Leo was disturbing her daughter's rest period. However denied that she wanted mother to move, at least until she could be placed under good supervision. Suggested that she might get place where she could do housework and live there with baby. In April mother had moved from brother's home and sister-in-law refused to give address. However agreed to let mother know of visit. On April twenty-ninth mother reported that she was keeping house for family called D.... in town of N...W...



and mother were contributing to the support of their illegitimate daughter  
Horowitz. Didn't think much of Edward's foster home since mother was arrested  
and for firmness from there in 1912.)  
In October mother (Mrs. L.) was caring for the housework for  
Mrs. MCK. Her sister-in-law and was doing dressmaking. Mother has new  
interest in her child and was worried that she would have to leave brother's  
house if she drank or returned to her friends. Mother promised to stay in  
brother's home and has seemed to be looking much better. Patative father  
He was sending money but wasn't working regularly. On January 11, 1922  
mother reported Mr. BT sending about seven dollars a week. Wanted to marry  
him. Sister-in-law reported that mother was doing well and that baby was  
also well cared for. Home was very attractive and tidy. (On January six-  
teenth father's sister-in-law reported that father was away about four weeks  
Didn't know where he was. Now didn't want responsibility of child as she  
had decided that she wanted to go to work.) On January seventeenth mother's  
sister-in-law was at office and reported that mother was sober but reported  
that Mr. BT was living on same street in her brother's home (that is sister-  
in-law's brother). Patative father was calling on mother but they never  
went out alone with each other. Mrs. MCK wanted agent to make allowances  
for their mutual fondness for each other. Mrs. MCK intimated that she  
wouldn't be sorry if mother left as she was disturbing her daughter's rest  
period. However denied that she wanted mother to move, at least until she  
could be placed under good supervision. Suggested that she might get place  
where she could do housework and live there with baby. In April mother had  
moved from brother's home and sister-in-law refused to give address. How-  
ever agreed to let mother know of visit. On April twenty-ninth mother re-  
ported that she was keeping house for family called B... in town of B...



Leo was with her and was getting along well. Willing that agent call. Said she hadn't seen Mr. BT for a long while. On July twelfth mother's sister-in-law reported that mother had fooled the D family and told them she was Mrs. BT. Therefore father had been with her for several nights, and once when she was sick with the grippe he spent three weeks with her. Then they began to drink and Mr. D was much disappointed in them since he had given Mr. BT a job in his market. Mr. D reported them to Mrs. MCL. He ordered them out of the house on July tenth when he found they weren't even married. Present whereabouts were unknown. On July twenty-seventh Mr. D reported he was a business man and hence couldn't have his name implicated in the case by testifying in court. On August eighth mother was found with aunt Mrs. RS who said that mother was weak and had asked to be given another chance. Mr. BT was in New Hampshire and his address was unknown. Mother was trying to get factory work. Mrs. RS blamed Mrs. MCL for deceiving the D family. Mrs. RS was fond of Leo and mother, and promised to give them a good home if mother will under no conditions allow Mr. BT to visit. Mother was sleeping on couch in parlor and Leo in a crib. (In September Sister D of the HDCC reported that father's whereabouts were unknown for a long while. Elsie was getting along very well. On December twenty-sixth HDCC reported that father was worrying CCB about \$10 he paid to have Elsie boarded in a private home. Had paid no more than this. HDCC had father followed and father was seen to meet Leo and Mrs. J on W.... Street. On January 19, 1923 father reported he couldn't marry Mrs. J till December of 1924. Father was paying \$5 a week board for Leo at Mrs. RS. Judge told him to try to arrange placement of Elsie through the CCB.) On same date mother was found at home of Mrs. RS. and reported that father was paying \$5 a week for Leo's board. Mother said she had seen Mr. BT very little recently. (On January 6, 1924 Elsie was



173

Leo was with her and was getting along well. Willing that agent call. Said she hadn't seen Mr. BT for a long while. On July twelfth mother's sister-in-law reported that mother had looked the D family and told them she was Mrs. BT. Therefore father had been with her for several nights, and once when she was sick with the grippe he spent three weeks with her. Then they began to drink and Mr. D was much disappointed in them since he had given Mr. BT a job in his market. Mr. D reported that to Mrs. MCL. He ordered them out of the house on July tenth when he found they weren't even married. Present whereabouts were unknown. On July twenty-seventh Mr. D reported he was a business man and hence couldn't have his name implicated in the case by testifying in court. On August eighth mother was found with aunt Mrs. BS who said that mother was weak and had asked to be given another chance. Mr. BT was in New Hampshire and his address was unknown. Mother was trying to get factory work. Mrs. BS blamed Mrs. MCL for deceiving the D family. Mrs. BS was fond of Leo and mother, and promised to give them a good home if mother will under no conditions allow Mr. BT to visit. Mother was sleeping on couch in parlor and Leo in a crib. (In September Sister D of the HDCC reported that father's whereabouts were unknown for a long while. Kiste was getting along very well. On December twenty-sixth HDCC reported that father was working OCS about \$10 he said to have Kiste boarded in a private home. Had paid no more than this. HDCC had father followed and father was seen to meet Leo and Mrs. J on W.... Street. On January 12, 1933 father reported he couldn't marry Mrs. J till December of 1934. Father was paying \$5 a week board for Leo at Mrs. BS. Judge told him to try to arrange placement of Kiste through the OCS. On same date mother was found at home of Mrs. BS and reported that father was paying \$5 a week for Leo's board. Mother said she had seen Mr. BT very little recently. On January 8, 1934 Kiste was



reported still in care and custody of HDCC and had paid nothing for her since last January.)

On January 16, 1924 Mrs. RS reported that mother and Leo were still with her and Mr. BT was paying child's board regularly. Mother was doing well but wasn't very healthy lately. Planned to marry Mr. BT in June when she would also take Edward and Elsie. Here we turn back to the BT Family case record.

On January 18, 1924 father was working in factory, and was earning about \$25 a week. Had been ill and unable to work for the past three months. Was paying \$5 a week to Mrs. W, maternal grand aunt, who was boarding Edward. Edward was in court and was well.

On January 16, 1925 father reported that he married Mrs. J on 12-21-24 by Justice of the Peace, and that they were living in R..... Wanted Elsie. In February it was reported that Elsie was to be with foster parents till end of school term. In April it was reported that Mr. J had died.

In June neighbors reported that parents were drinking to excess and that father beat Edward very severely.

In September of 1926 stepmother was out. Edward was living at home and was working in same oil company with father. Elsie was in sixth grade. Father was employed at oil company since 3-21-24. Later teacher reported Elsie clean and well kept. Also well mannered but didn't attend regularly. On September twenty-seventh father's foreman reported father was a good worker and had raised his salary recently. Father was known to drink at first but not now and worked regularly. Edward worked as an errand and office boy and seemed to be a good boy. Stepmother reported that father hadn't had drink for about two years. Said she didn't drink either. Elsie



reported still in care and custody of HUCB and had paid nothing for her since last January.)

On January 18, 1934 Mrs. E. reported that mother and her were still together and Mr. E. was paying child's board regularly. Mother was doing well but wasn't very healthy lately. Planned to marry Mr. E. in June when she would also take Edward and Elsie. Here we turn back to the 1934 Family Case Record.

On January 18, 1934 father was working in factory, and was earning about \$28 a week. Had been ill and unable to work for the past three months. Was paying \$5 a week to Mrs. W., maternal grand aunt, who was boarding Edward. Edward was in court and was well.

On January 18, 1935 father reported that he married Mrs. J. on 12-31-34 by Justice of the Peace, and that they were living in H..... United Elsie. In February it was reported that Elsie was in with father parents till end of school term. In April it was reported that Mr. J. had died.

In June neighbors reported that parents were drinking to

excess and that father beat Edward very severely.

In September of 1935 stepmother was out. Edward was living at home and was working in same oil company with father. Elsie was in sixth grade. Father was employed at oil company since 5-31-34. Later teacher reported Elsie clean and well kept. Also well mannered but didn't attend regularly. On September twenty-seventh father's foreman reported father was a good worker and had raised his salary recently. Father was known to drink at first but now and worked regularly. Edward worked as an errand and office boy and seemed to be a good boy. Stepmother reported that father hadn't had drink for about two years. Said she didn't drink either. Elsie



went to summer school for seven weeks at cost of \$10.50. Rooms were fairly well furnished and clean.

In July of 1927 father's foreman reported that Edward was now with maternal grandmother and reported that Elsie was abused by stepmother. Leo was also not well cared for and parents were again drinking. HDCC made same report and wanted children removed by court order. Elsie was now in R.... with foster family. On August third HDCC reported Elsie with family in B..... Elsie said she had lived with this family for five years previously and that she left home on 7-28-27. Reported that father lost job because of his drinking. Although given many chances he never reformed. Then worked in another oil company and lost job for same reason. Stepmother didn't abuse her but made her do all the house work since she was drunk most of the time since January. Lost school till March when attendance officer made her return. Was however promoted to the seventh grade. Stepmother once hit her in the nose with a coal shovel and slapped her face twice on day she left. Father and mother made her buy liquor for them. Reported that Edward was a good boy and didn't drink and that he was good to her. Leo was at home. She told neighbors where she was going to. Heard nothing from father and wanted to stay in present foster home. There were three sons in this family (youngest twenty-six) and a daughter in the family. Home was very excellent and in a very good section.

In August Edward reported he left home three or four months ago. Told stepmother he was leaving. Gave her all his wages when in home and she gave him a dollar every now and then. Meals were very irregular as she was drunk almost all the time. Saw father occasionally but didn't talk to him. Intended to remain with maternal grandmother. Said that Leo was not abused, but wasn't well cared for.



went to summer school for seven weeks at cost of \$10.00. Rooms were fairly well furnished and clean.

In July of 1937 Father's Foreman reported that Edward was

now with maternal grandmother and reported that Elsie was abused by step-

mother. Leo was also not well cared for and parents were again drinking.

EDCO made same report and wanted children removed by court order. Elsie was

now in E.... with foster family. On August third EDCO reported Elsie with

family in B..... Elsie said she had lived with this family for five years

previously and that she left home on 7-28-37. Reported that Father lost job

because of his drinking. Although given many chances he never reformed.

Then worked in another oil company and lost job for same reason. Stepmother

didn't abuse her but made her do all the house work since she was drunk most

of the time since January. Lost school till March when attendance officer

made her return. Was however promoted to the seventh grade. Stepmother

once hit her in the nose with a coal shovel and slapped her face twice on

day she left. Father and mother made her buy liquor for them. Reported

that Edward was a good boy and didn't drink and that he was good to her.

Leo was at home. She told neighbors where she was going to. Heard nothing

from father and wanted to stay in present foster home. There were three

sons in this family (youngest twenty-six) and a daughter in the family.

Home was very excellent and in a very good section.

In August Edward reported he left home three or four months

ago. Told stepmother he was leaving. Gave her all his wages when he home

and she gave him a dollar every now and then. Meals were very irregular as

she was drunk almost all the time. Saw father occasionally but didn't talk

to him. Intended to remain with maternal grandmother. Said that Leo was

not abused, but wasn't well cared for.



Stepmother reported she wasn't well and had nervous shock caused by explosion at nearby oil company. Said that she wasn't drunk and said that Elsie hadn't told her she was leaving. Had only asked her to buy liquor once. Father was working as longshoreman. Mother(of Edward and Elsie) was living under name of MN. and stepmother said that Edward went to live with her. Father denied dismissal from oil companies for drinking. He and mother were divorced in 1917 or 1918. Didn't know whether she had remarried. Said she has child two years old besides others. Said he never asked Elsie to buy liquor. Stepmother was ill for fourteen weeks. Willing to leave Elsie in present foster home. Said that Edward wanted to go to the movies every evening and Elsie wanted to go with boys. Leo was very dirty. Man was helping them to move. Landlady reported family owed \$150 rent and were being evicted. Father and stepmother were drinking since Christmas. On August twelfth Elsie was removed by court order.

On August seventeenth Leo was sent to Temporary Home of Society to be on observation for poor eating and sleeping habits. On August twenty-fourth stepmother promised to give Leo regular meals and put him to bed at regular time. Judge also told mother to teach child to dress himself. Mother promised to have him have tonsillectomy at the MGH. On August thirty-first Leo was in better condition. Family were living in five rooms that were in good condition. In September stepmother reported that Leo was in good condition. Was in second grade in school. Mother hurt knee and couldn't take him to clinic. Man in kitchen was shaving and mother said that he was visitor. On September twenty-third Leo was ill with tonsillitis. Mother was to arrange for tonsillectomy at the BCH. On September twenty-seventh stepmother reported that Leo recovered from illness and she seemed also to be in better condition. In November Leo's teacher



Stepmother reported the man's well and had nervous shock caused by explosion at nearby oil company. Said that the man's drunk and said that Elsie had told her she was leaving. Had only asked her to buy liquor once. Father was working as longshoreman. Mother (of Edward and Elsie) was living under name of Mr. and stepmother said that Edward went to live with her. Father denied dismissal from oil companies for drinking. He and mother were divorced in 1917 or 1918. Didn't know whether she had re-married. Said she has child two years old besides others. Said he never asked Elsie to buy liquor. Stepmother was ill for fourteen weeks. Willing to leave Elsie in present foster home. Said that Edward wanted to go to the movies every evening and Elsie wanted to go with boys. Leo was very dirty. Man was helping them to move. Landlady reported family owed \$150 rent and were being evicted. Father and stepmother were drinking since Christmas. On August twelfth Elsie was removed by court order.

On August seventeenth Leo was sent to Temporary Home of Society to be on observation for poor eating and sleeping habits. On August twenty-fourth stepmother promised to give Leo regular meals and put him to bed at regular time. Judge also told mother to teach child to dress himself. Mother promised to have him have tonsillectomy at the MCH. On August thirty-first Leo was in better condition. Family were living in five rooms that were in good condition. In September stepmother reported that Leo was in good condition. Was in second grade in school. Mother hurt knee and couldn't take him to clinic. Man in kitchen was shaving and mother said that he was visitor. On September twenty-third Leo was ill with tonsillitis. Mother was to arrange for tonsillectomy at the BCH. On September twenty-seventh stepmother reported that Leo recovered from illness and she seemed also to be in better condition. In November Leo's teacher



reported that he was a good boy and was well cared for. Stepmother reported that Leo had the measles.

In February of 1928 father was packing fruit and wanted to return to the oil company. Wasn't drinking at all. In March Leo's teacher reported that he was all right. Later stepmother reported that father had returned to oil company in February and was earning \$42 a week. In June stepmother reported that father was still working for the oil company. Leo was improving in his arithmetic and intended to send him to maternal uncle MCL in Q.P. Had heard nothing from Elsie. In August father was again discharged from the oil company partly for lack of work and partly because of drinking. Edward was discharged for defrauding company of \$90 in carfares. On August tenth HDCC reported that Elsie was with daughter of Mrs. M and was doing well. On August twenty-eighth stepmother complained that father had been discharged because his pay had been trusted by four different concerns for clothing, jewelry, etc. bought by Edward who was still a minor. Father had to pay \$40 to one firm alone. Father was working as a machinist in another concern which seemed to be a permanent job. In September stepmother reported father had dislocated collar bone injury sustained while at work and will receive \$18 a week compensation. In November stepmother reported father was still home on \$18 week compensation. Was going to hospital three times a week and received money for carfare. Father now wanted some light work. Elsie was in same place. In December Leo was still doing well in his studies. Later father returned to work in same company. Wasn't drinking at all. Stepmother was helping Leo with his lessons. HDCC reported that Elsie returned to Mrs. M.

In March of 1929 teacher reported Leo was better in school though not very bright. Absent five days. Company reported father hadn't



reported that he was a good boy and was well cared for. Stepmother re-  
ported that Leo had the measles.  
In February of 1928 father was packing fruit and wanted to  
return to the oil company. Wasn't drinking at all. In March Leo's teacher  
reported that he was all right. Later stepmother reported that father had  
returned to oil company in February and was earning \$42 a week. In June  
stepmother reported that father was still working for the oil company.  
Leo was improving in his arithmetic and intended to send him to material  
school in G.P. Had heard nothing from Elsie. In August father was again  
discharged from the oil company partly for lack of work and partly because  
of drinking. Edward was discharged for delinquency company of \$80 in carfare.  
On August tenth HCC reported that Elsie was with daughter of Mrs. M and was  
doing well. On August twenty-eighth stepmother complained that father had  
been discharged because his pay had been withheld by four different concerns  
for clothing, jewelry, etc. bought by Edward who was still a minor. Father  
had to pay \$40 to one firm alone. Father was working as a machinist in  
another concern which seemed to be a permanent job. In September stepmother  
reported father had dislocated collar bone injury sustained while at work  
and will receive \$18 a week compensation. In November stepmother reported  
father was still home on \$18 week compensation. Was going to hospital three  
times a week and received money for carfare. Father now wanted some light  
work. Elsie was in same place. In December Leo was still doing well in his  
studies. Later father returned to work in same company. Wasn't drinking at  
all. Stepmother was helping Leo with his lessons. HCC reported that Elsie  
returned to Mrs. M.  
In March of 1929 teacher reported Leo was better in school  
though not very bright. Absent five days. Company reported father hadn't



returned since February though called back to work. Stepmother was out because of death of maternal stepgrandfather. Later father reported he returned to work but was soon laid off. Expected to return to work elsewhere while work was slack at factory. Leo was well. In April parents moved and father working as machinist in another factory. In June neither parent was drinking. Later stepmother reported that father working for ship company at seventy-five cents an hour. Leo doing well in school. Father had lost all interest in Elsie. Edward lived with them till middle of March. Left to work as a cook on a ship. Stepmother wanted to send Leo to camp. Home was clean and well furnished. Leo was well dressed. Teacher reported latter a very good boy.

In July of 1931 Elsie was reported as being in trouble with MC, an army man. Elsie was still with Mrs. M and was now two months pregnant. Both wanted to get married. On July twenty-third stepmother reported that father worked nights. Elsie was supposed to have married in March and was now in New York. Father and Elsie's mother signed order permitting her marriage. Leo was doing well in school and liked it. Elsie's case was dismissed in court on July twenty-fourth.

In July of 1934 foster mother reported that Elsie's husband was a drunkard and beat her up very severely before he left on August eleventh and she swore out an assault and battery complaint for him. Mother was being aided by neighbors and said that before he left her he gave her \$12 FERA money he was making. OPW agreed to give temporary aid. She later received \$10 a week from OPW and OPW advised Elsie to make a non-support complaint.

Father's last record is 5-21-34 assault and battery for which he paid \$10 fine. Also was in House of Correction for six months in



187

returned since February though called back to work. Stepmother was not re-  
cause of death of maternal stepgrandfather. Later father reported he re-  
turned to work but was soon laid off. Expected to return to work elsewhere  
while work was slack at factory. Leo was well. In April parents moved and  
father working as machinist in another factory. In June neither parent was  
drinking. Later stepmother reported that father working for ship company at  
seventy-five cents an hour. Leo doing well in school. Father had lost all  
interest in Elsie. Edward lived with them till middle of March. Left to  
work as a cook on a ship. Stepmother wanted to send Leo to camp. Home was  
clean and well furnished. Leo was well dressed. Teacher reported father a  
very good boy.

In July of 1931 Elsie was reported as being in trouble with  
Leo, an army man. Elsie was still with Mrs. W and was now two months preg-  
nant. Both wanted to get married. On July twenty-third stepmother reported  
that father worked nights. Elsie was supposed to have married in March and  
was now in New York. Father and Elsie's mother signed order permitting her  
marriage. Leo was doing well in school and liked it. Elsie's case was dis-  
missed in court on July twenty-fourth.

In July of 1934 Foster mother reported that Elsie's husband  
was a drunkard and beat her up very severely before he left on August  
eleventh and she wrote out an assault and battery complaint for him. Mother  
was being aided by neighbors and said that before he left her he gave her  
\$125.00 money he was making. CPW agreed to give temporary aid. She later  
received \$10 a week from CPW and CPW advised Elsie to make a non-support  
complaint.

Father's last record is 0-31-34 assault and battery for  
which he paid \$10 fine. Also was in House of Correction for six months in



1932 for same offense. Edward's only record is on 8-20-34 for offense not named and for which he received six months probation till February of this year. Listed as a laborer.

In this case we have parents who are so unstable and intemperate that the children have no chance of proper upbringing unless parents are constantly watched and children's training is constantly supervised. The mother was incapable of bringing up children properly because of low intelligence and immorality. The father was handicapped by fact that he felt insecure in his relations with his mistress and couldn't marry her because of legal obstacles and had a long fight to overcome his drives while he was waiting for permission to marry mistress. This tension, continued for a long period of time, created an unhealthy atmosphere for the children who had to be removed for their own protection. As it is with the best care available for them the children have not made a very successful adjustment and Elsie, especially, was even pregnant before marriage, when only a minor, and was forced to marry. Has been treated very badly by husband and is in same position of insecurity as parents were and has created a new case for the Society. This family thus perpetuated itself as a social failure. It is hard to know what to do with a family so unadjusted and so lacking in background as to furnish no stable pattern to its children to follow when they grow up. Either of two things should be done. First the family can be limited in its growth and this being found to be impossible, the children should early be removed to make it possible to make them social assets rather than liabilities by taking them away from the baneful influences of their family.



1923 for same offense. Edward's only record is on 8-30-34 for offense not named and for which he received six months probation till February of this year. Listed as a laborer.

In this case we have parents who are so unstable and in- temperate that the children have no chance of proper upbringing unless par- ents are constantly watched and children's training is constantly supervised. The mother was incapable of bringing up children properly because of low intelligence and immorality. The father was handicapped by fact that he felt insecure in his relations with his mistress and couldn't marry her be- cause of legal obstacles and had a long fight to overcome his drives while he was waiting for permission to marry mistress. This tension, continued for a long period of time, created an unhealthy atmosphere for the children who had to be removed for their own protection. As it is with the best care available for them the children have not made a very successful adjustment and this, especially, was even pregnant before marriage, when only a minor and was forced to marry. Has been treated very badly by husband and is in some position of insecurity as parents were and has created a new case for the Society. This family thus perpetuated itself as a social failure. It is hard to know what to do with a family so unadjusted and so lacking in background as to furnish no stable pattern to the children to follow when they grow up. Either of two things should be done. First the family can be lifted in its growth and this being found to be impossible, the children should early be removed to make it possible to make them social assets rather than liabilities by taking them away from the harmful influences of their family.



Case XXII. CS.FAMILYFilomena- sixteen years.

Filomena was sent to the Society by the U.S.Court while awaiting trial for violation of the Mann Act with a man with whom she travelled from her home in New York City to Massachusetts. Filomena's parents were Italians and were Roman Catholic by religion.

In November of 1926 the Assistant U.S. Attorney reported that young girl of sixteen was involved with a man in a white slave case. Both offenders were being held under the Mann Act. The girl seemed to be unusually intelligent and somewhat refined. The U.S. Court wanted assistance of Society in giving shelter and helping solve the problem.

Filomena was brought by a deputy marshall of the court.

Filomena said that she was married at thirteen years of age and had had relations with her husband for a whole year before marriage. Because of this court gave consent to marriage and father also consented. Filomena was born in New York and went as far as 6B grade in grammar school. After marriage her husband took her to Italian section of city and soon began to abuse her. Therefore she recently returned to parents. Became acquainted with D and became infatuated with him. Therefore agreed to come with him to Massachusetts and live here with him as his wife. Lived in this state with him for over a month. She maintained that she had never had any children nor had she ever been pregnant.

Later it was discovered where she had lived in New York and that her husband's whereabouts were unknown at present. However her sister-in-law's address was known. After her home was broken she returned to home of parents, but few days later her father came from Italy and told her to go. Therefore she went with D who promised to care and provide for her.



Williams was sent to the Society by the U.S. Court while

awaiting trial for violation of the Mann Act with a man with whom she  
travelled from her home in New York City to Massachusetts. Williams's par-  
ents were Italians and were Roman Catholic by religion.

In November of 1928 the Assistant U.S. Attorney reported

that young girl of sixteen was involved with a man in a white slave case.

Both offenders were being held under the Mann Act. The girl seemed to be

commonly intelligent and somewhat reticent. The U.S. Court wanted assistance

of Society in giving shelter and helping solve the problem.

Williams was brought by a deputy marshal of the court.

Williams said that she was married at thirteen years of age and had had

relations with her husband for a whole year before marriage. Because of

this court gave consent to marriage and father also consented. Williams was

born in New York and went as far as 63 grade in grammar school. After

marriage her husband took her to Italian section of city and soon began to

abuse her. Therefore she recently returned to parents. Because maintained

with D and became intimate with him. Therefore agreed to come with him to

Massachusetts and live here with him as his wife. Lived in this state with

him for over a month. She maintained that she had never had any children

nor had she ever been pregnant.

Later it was discovered where she had lived in New York and

that her husband's whereabouts were unknown at present. However her sister-

in-law's address was known. After her home was broken she returned to home

of parents, but few days later her father came from Italy and told her to go.

Therefore she went with D who promised to care and provide for her.



Besides Filomena there were five younger siblings. Filomena wanted to return home and said that husband would probably want to divorce her.

U.S. Criminal Department reported a "No Bill" returned against Filomena. D was indicted and Filomena was given permission to return to parents. D's bail was placed at \$2500 and wasn't furnished. D was a married man whose wife and children were in Naples, Italy. Filomena was unaware of this till morning of arrest.

Later father arrived and was given address of nearby SPCC in New York. Filomena was not able to obtain a divorce except on grounds of adultery in New York and as she hadn't committed act there and wasn't guilty of it in Massachusetts where she did, there were no grounds for divorce. There was also little chance that Catholic Church would grant annulment because marriage was legal and with consent of all parties, and was consummated even before marriage. Only possibility was legal separation. Father was advised to confer with nearby SPCC in New York. Filomena was discharged and returned home with father to New York.

In this case we have a very clear cut case of protection of a minor. Also we get a glimpse of the results of most child marriages in our culture. The girl had no real understanding of her needs in the home of her simple and ignorant parents who didn't understand the conduct of a young adolescent girl with strong sex drives and probably the future will not be too bright unless this girl is supervised in her further development by competent social agencies who can make up for her parents who have no understanding of her problem, except from the point of view of passing moral judgments on her so-called misbehavior.

On January 10, 1918, Mr. E. at office reported that Helen



besides Wilmona there were five younger siblings. Wilmona wanted to return home and said that husband would probably want to divorce her. U.S. Criminal Department reported a "No Bill" returned against Wilmona. It was indicted and Wilmona was given permission to return to parents. A bail was placed at \$2500 and wasn't furnished. It was a married man whose wife and children were in Naples, Italy. Wilmona was unaware of this till morning of arrest.

Later father arrived and was given address of nearby SPCC in New York. Wilmona was not able to obtain a divorce except on grounds of adultery in New York and as she hadn't committed adultery and wasn't guilty of it in Massachusetts where she did, there were no grounds for divorce. There was also little chance that Catholic Church would grant annulment because marriage was legal and with consent of all parties, and was consummated even before marriage. Only possibility was legal separation. Father was advised to confer with nearby SPCC in New York. Wilmona was discharged and returned home with father to New York.

In this case we have a very clear cut case of protection of a minor. Also we get a glimpse of the results of most child marriages in our culture. The girl had no real understanding of her needs in the home of her single and ignorant parents who didn't understand the conduct of a young adolescent girl with strong sex drives and probably the future will not be too bright unless this girl is supervised in her further development by competent social agencies who can make up for her parents who have no understanding of her problem, except from the point of view of passing moral judgments on her so-called misbehavior.



Case XXIII. NL.FAMILY

Helen- eleven years and one month.

The complaint was made in this case that a young girl of about eleven years of age was sleeping nights in automobiles and that she was often seen to flee from home in bare feet. Helen was the only girl in home and was living with father and two older brothers. There was some talk of the possibility of incest in the home.

In December of 1918 Mr. D reported that children were neglected. Mother was ill in the BCH. Father was drinking and left children without fire or food. Complainant reported that Helen was living with them. Father was working as a machinist and earning about \$45 a week, and informant wanted father to be forced to support family. Informant reported he had own children and could care for Helen only temporarily. Landlady stated that family were Swedish and Protestant. Said that family was living in her house since May. Also knew family before through friends. Mother was sick all summer and yet made an effort to keep home clean and children cared for. Mother was now in the BCH on her advice with severe heart and kidney trouble, and was on the danger list. Landlady cared for children for three weeks hoping father would make some suggestion concerning placement, when she finally realized father was taking care of children for granted. Therefore, she placed Helen with Mrs. D who was supposed to like the child well enough to adopt her. Francis and Hugo were placed with a family that advertised through the paper for boarding children. Father consented to plan but didn't know whether or not he was paying the board specified. Father seems indifferent about mother and children, and didn't even go to see mother or children.

On January 10, 1919, Mr. D at office reported that Helen



Case XIII. W. FAMILY

Helen - eleven years and one month.

The complaint was made in this case that a young girl of about eleven years of age was sleeping nights in automobiles and that she was often seen to flee from home in bare feet. Helen was the only girl in home and was living with father and two older brothers. There was some talk of the possibility of incest in the home.

In December of 1918 Mr. C reported that children were neglected. Mother was ill in the BCH. Father was drinking and left children without fire or food. Complaintant reported that Helen was living with them. Father was working as a machinist and earning about \$45 a week, and informant wanted father to be forced to support family. Informant reported he had own children and could care for Helen only temporarily. Landlady stated that family were Swedish and Protestant. Said that family was living in her house since May. Also knew family before through friends. Mother was sick all summer and yet made an effort to keep home clean and children cared for. Mother was now in the BCH on her advice with severe heart and kidney trouble, and was on the danger list. Landlady cared for children for three weeks hoping father would make some suggestion concerning placement. When she finally realized father was taking care of children for granted. Therefore, she placed Helen with Mrs. D who was supposed to like the child well enough to adopt her. Francis and Hugo were placed with a family that advertised through the paper for boarding children. Father consented to plan but didn't know whether or not he was paying the board neglected. Father seems indifferent about mother and children, and didn't even go to see mother or children.

On January 10, 1919, Mr. D at office reported that Helen



had been with him six weeks. Went to see father shortly after Helen was placed with him. Father was intoxicated. The two boys were in the room trying to start a fire and complained that they had no dinner yet at 10 p.m. Nothing in house except sausages and some biscuits. Father hadn't paid board for children even though he promised to do so. Wrote to father's place of business about this matter and told father that if he didn't remove Helen by January twelfth he would bring civil suit. Society's counsel suggested that child be brought to office and sent to the Overseers of the Poor or to the Children's Institution Department. On January thirteenth OPW advised father to bring child to father's place of employment. On January twenty-seventh BCH social worker reported that mother had been discharged from the hospital. Mother didn't make a good impression because of her indefinite statements concerning herself. Agent couldn't trace the family.

In February BCH reported that mother was in the House of the Good Samaritan. Hugo and Francis were being boarded with Mrs. L and father was paying board regularly. In March neighbors told a lot of gossip concerning Mrs. L's neglect of the children with her. Later Mrs. L reported that she had been boarding children for last fifteen years. Children had plentiful and very appetizing dinner when agent was there. Home was clean and comfortable. Children looked well-fed and clothed. Mrs. L was a severe and strict looking person and said that she had no affection for the children she boards. Considers it a paying proposition. No wasting of affection in this business. Children were allowed to play in the cellar which was clean, dry and had a large stove lighted in it on rainy or damp days. Children however appeared to be a forlorn and woe-begone group. Play was apparently discouraged in the home. Mrs. L said that priests in



had been with him six weeks. Went to see father shortly after Helen was placed with him. Father was intoxicated. The two boys were in the room trying to start a fire and complained that they had no dinner yet at 10 p.m. Nothing in house except sausage and some biscuits. Father hadn't said board for children even though he promised to do so. Wrote to father's place of business about this matter and told father that if he didn't remove Helen by January twelfth he would bring civil suit. Society's counsel suggested that child be brought to office and sent to the Governors of the Poor or to the Children's Institution Department. On January thirteenth GFW advised father to bring child to father's place of employment. On January twenty-seventh BOM social worker reported that mother had been discharged from the hospital. Mother didn't make a good impression because of her indefinite statements concerning herself. Agent couldn't trace the family.

In February BOM reported that mother was in the House of the Good Samaritan. Hugo and Francis were being boarded with Mrs. J and father was paying board regularly. In March neighbors told a lot of gossip concerning Mrs. J's neglect of the children with her. Later Mrs. J reported that she had been boarding children for last fifteen years. Children had plentiful and very appetizing dinner when agent was there. Home was clean and comfortable. Children looked well-fed and clothed. Mrs. J was a severe and strict looking person and said that she had no affection for the children and boards. Considers it a paying proposition. No wasting of affection in this business. Children were allowed to play in the cellar which was clean, dry and had a large stove lighted in it on rainy or damp days. Children however appeared to be a forlorn and woe-begone group. Play was apparently discontinued in the home. Mrs. J said that children in



neighboring church knew her well. Mrs. L asked for help from malicious attacks of neighbors. Father came to see children every week and paid her \$8 a week board. No trouble with father. Priest in church reported that they did not know woman and said that this was probably not a very good place for the children and recommended CCB. Later CCB agreed to investigate the boarding home.

In March mother was in House of Good Samaritan as a chronic invalid. Said she hadn't seen children for a long while. Father came to see her about once every two weeks and gave her long reports on the children. Didn't know where Helen was.

In April father telephoned and reported that he was satisfied with placement of children. Helen was placed somewhere in a suburb. CCB reported nothing found that would detract from Mrs. L as boarding mother.

In May it was reported that Helen was placed about a month ago by father and latter was paying \$5 a week board. Regular in payments but indifferent in regard to child. Boarding home was comfortable and there were five children boarded in home, two of whom were babies. Foster mother said she was registered by the state and was particular of children she accepted. Not impressed by father but liked the child and willing to care for her. Helen was clean and well-dressed. Promised to notify agent before child removed. Mrs. L reported boys were well. Father was paying regularly. Said that she might take them to see mother in hospital. Wanted agent to make frequent calls to prove that her home was satisfactory. Helen's foster mother was later found to be registered with the State Minor Wards Division to board babies.

In October mother was still at the House of the Good Samaritan and father was now not satisfied with Mrs. L in caring for boys.



neighboring church knew her well. Mrs. I asked for help from religious  
attends of neighbors. Father came to see children every week and said that  
it was a week board. No trouble with father. Priest in church reported that  
they did not know woman and said that this was probably not a very good  
place for the children and recommended GCB. Later GCB agreed to investigate  
the boarding home.

In March mother was in House of Good Samaritan as a  
chronic invalid. Said she hadn't seen children for a long while. Father  
came to see her about once every two weeks and gave her long reports on the  
children. Didn't know where Helen was.

In April father telephoned and reported that he was satis-  
fied with placement of children. Helen was placed somewhere in a suburb.  
GCB reported nothing found that would detract from Mrs. I as boarding mother.  
In May it was reported that Helen was placed about a month  
ago by father and latter was paying \$5 a week board. Regular in payments  
but indifferent in regard to child. Boarding home was comfortable and there  
were five children boarded in home, two of whom were babies. Foster mother  
said she was registered by the state and was particular of children she  
adopted. Not impressed by father but liked the child and willing to care  
for her. Helen was clean and well-dressed. Promised to notify agent before  
child removed. Mrs. I reported home were well. Father was paying regularly.  
Said that she might take them to see mother in hospital. Wanted agent to  
make frequent calls to prove that her home was satisfactory. Helen's foster  
mother was later found to be registered with the State Minor Welfare Division  
to board babies.

In October mother was still at the House of the Good  
Samaritan and father was now not satisfied with Mrs. I in caring for boys.



He was referred to child placing agency.

In February of 1921 MGH social worker talked over family situation with agent. Mother was in the MGH with heart trouble and she couldn't live much longer. Wanted her to go to Long Island Hospital. Also wanted plan made for the children. She was referred to child-placing agency. Later same reported to agent that a Mrs. R was boarding the three children and that latter had five of her own, and had other children boarding as well. One child had gland trouble and was removed to a hospital. Also one of woman's children seemed to have same. Father paid Mrs. R \$18 a week board but recently cut it down to \$15. Not willing to place children with a child-placing agency. Children were well physically, but Mrs. R reported that Francis lied and stole small sums of money and that she thought Helen was feeble-minded. Mother was transferred to Long Island.

In October of 1926 an anonymous complaint came on the telephone reporting that girl in family was very much neglected. Father and brothers were abusing her and there was a suspicion that there might even be criminal abuse. Girl hadn't been to school for a week and stays away from home when she can no longer stand conditions there. Sleeping in hallways for last few nights.

In November boy answered agent's knock and said that mother was dead. Father was at work and then Helen came to the door. Said she slept in hallways because she feared father. Said he had whipped her last year. Agent asked her if her father and brother were good and she answered in the affirmative. Home was in very poor condition. Landlady reported that she pities child since father drank and brought other men to drink at the home and when he wasn't there brothers were there and she was also afraid of them. Attendance officer had been at the home several times.



184

He was referred to child placing agency.

In February of 1931 MCH social worker talked over family situation with agent. Mother was in the MCH with heart trouble and she couldn't live much longer. Wanted her to go to Long Island Hospital. Also wanted girl made for the children. She was referred to child-placing agency.

Later same reported to agent that a Mrs. B was boarding the three children and that latter had five of her own, and had other children boarding as well.

The child had gland trouble and was removed to a hospital. Also one of woman's children seemed to have same. Father paid Mrs. B \$18 a week board but recently cut it down to \$15. Not willing to place children with a child-placing agency. Children were well physically, but Mrs. B reported that Francis lied and stole small sums of money and that she thought Helen was feeble-minded. Mother was transferred to Long Island.

In October of 1932 an anonymous complaint came on the telephone reporting that girl in family was very much neglected. Father and brothers were running her and there was a suspicion that there might even be physical abuse. Girl hadn't been to school for a week and stays away from home when she can no longer stand conditions there. Sleeping in hallways for last few nights.

In November boy answered agent's knock and said that mother was dead. Father was at work and then Helen came to the door. Said she slept in hallways because she feared father. Said he had whipped her last week. Agent asked her if her father and brother were good and she answered in the affirmative. Home was in very poor condition. Landlady reported that she didn't like child since father drank and brought other men to drink at the home and when he wasn't there brothers were there and she was afraid of them. Attendance officer had been at the home several times.



Neighbor reported same as landlady and said that girl usually slept in auto of lady next door.

Mrs. MT reported that she found Helen sleeping in her auto about six times and probably the night previous as well. One night dog barked furiously and they found him in the car with Helen. She also slept in their hallway and once was found after being away for a whole week in a shack on a beach. However managed to get to school fairly regularly. Few weeks ago was found in street at six a.m. barefoot and had apparently run out of house. Stays away from home till all are gone and then goes to get some food. Also did own ironing and always looked neat. Wanted to stay at home of Mrs. MT and they were in a quandry as to question of what to do with her.

Mrs. P reported that Helen had worked for her all summer and seemed to be a very smart girl. Was surprised to hear that she slept in the streets and cars and hallways. Had seen father only four times and each time he was drunk. Her husband (Mr. P) reported that Helen seems to want someone to think well of her (recognition and response is probably what he meant).

On November 11, 1926 Mr. F, headmaster of Helen's school said there was something wrong with the child's life, but she refused to tell anything. One brother in school was in sixth grade and was bad boy. Latter had been sent to Lyman once. Other brother was all right. Helen's fifth grade teacher reported that she was good in attendance during the present month, but was very poor in attendance previous month. Looked well-nourished and was neatly dressed. However something seemed to be wrong. Francis' sixth grade teacher reported that he was her only behavior problem but that threat to report him to the Lyman School seemed to have sobering



Neighbor reported same as landlady and said that girl usually slept in auto of lady next door.

Mrs. M. reported that she found Helen sleeping in her auto

about six times and probably the night previous as well. One night dog barked furiously and they found him in the car with Helen. She also stayed in their hallway and once was found after being away for a whole week in a shack on a beach. However managed to get to school fairly regularly. Two weeks ago was found in street at six a.m. barked and had apparently run out of house. Stays away from home till all are gone and then goes to get some food. Also did own ironing and always looked neat. Wanted to stay at home of Mrs. M. and they were in a quandary as to question of what to do with her.

Mrs. F. reported that Helen had worked for her all summer and seemed to be a very smart girl. Was surprised to hear that she slept in the streets and cars and hallways. Had seen father only four times and each time he was drunk. Her husband (Mr. F.) reported that Helen seems to want someone to think well of her (recognition and response is probably what he meant).

On November 11, 1935 Mr. V., headmaster of Helen's school said there was something wrong with the child's life, but she refused to tell anything. One brother in school was in sixth grade and was bad boy. Father had been sent to prison once. Other brother was all right. Helen's fifth grade teacher reported that she was good in attendance during the present month, but was very poor in attendance previous month. Looked well-nourished and was neatly dressed. However something seemed to be wrong. Francis, sixth grade teacher reported that he was having behavior problem but that threat to report him to the Lyman School seemed to have stopped



effect on him. Francis said that he didn't know why his sister slept in hallways and said that he was good to her and didn't want to go to Lyman again.

On November fourteenth father was found intoxicated.

Couldn't even stand and was nauseated. Agent called two police officers and father reported that Helen slept with him. Hugo admitted that this was true for last year. Francis later was privately interviewed and reported same. Couldn't find Helen in movie houses in which she was supposed to be. On November fifteenth the DCG reported that Francis was arrested in Q.... for larceny of bicycle and was put on probation. Within a month he was again arrested in D.... for breaking, entering, and larceny, and was sent to Lyman. Lyman School secretary reported that school would be interested if home were unfit. Parole department reported that they would recommend that Francis be placed in the care and custody of same department. Helen admitted that she slept with father for a year and also four or five times when father had man visitor stay all night and latter had to have her bed. Father was usually drunk when men stayed over night and she slept with her face to the wall. Helen maintained that neither father nor brothers had been indecent to her. Said Hugo always cared for her, but Francis never did. Complaint of neglect was made in court against all three children. Helen was placed care and custody of Society. Hugo and Francis on a temporary mittimus to the DCG. On the twenty-second the Society's doctor reported that all physical findings on Helen were negative. On November 23, 1926 Helen was found neglected and was turned over to the City Institutions Department on a permanent commitment basis. The two boys were found not neglected and were returned to home.



effect on him. Francis said that he didn't know why his sister slept in  
 hallway and said that he was good to her and didn't want to go to Lyman  
 again.

On November twentieth father was found intoxicated.

Condon's even attend and was humiliated. Agent called two police officers and  
 father reported that Helen slept with him. Hugo admitted that this was true  
 for last year. Francis later was privately interviewed and reported same.

Condon's that Helen in movie houses in which she was supposed to be. On

November fifteenth the DOJ reported that Francis was arrested in Q.... For

larceny of bicycle and was put on probation. Within a month he was again

arrested in D.... for breaking, entering, and larceny, and was sent to

Lyman. Lyman School secretary reported that school would be interested if

home were built. Police department reported that they would recommend that

Francis be placed in the care and custody of same department. Helen admitted

that she slept with father for a year and also for or five times when

father had men visitor stay all night and latter had to have her bed. Father

was usually drunk when men stayed over night and she slept with her face to

the wall. Helen maintained that neither father nor brothers had been in-

herent to her. Said Hugo always cared for her, but Francis never did. Con-

plaint of neglect was made in court against all three children. Helen was

placed care and custody of Society. Hugo and Francis on a temporary mitti-

one to the DOJ. On the twenty-second the Society's doctor reported that all

physical findings on Helen were negative. On November 23, 1936 Helen was

found neglected and was turned over to the City Institutions Department on

a permanent commitment basis. The two boys were found not neglected and

were returned to home.



Father's last record was on 11-15-26 drunk. Hugo's record is as follows: 8-20-29 no license; 3-7-30 burglary, entry, at night and committed to Industrial School, but sentence was revoked on 3-11-30; 4-15-30 burglary and entering night, not guilty; 7-17-31 violation of parking rules; nothing else. Francis has a very long record, in brief, thirty-three times from 10-20-23 burglary and entering, night, and sent to Lyman through 1-22-27 use of auto without authorization and committed to Lyman on 7-21-27 plus 10-14-31 registration not in possession; 2-25-33 parole; 10-14-33 released under Hugo's name. Helen has no record at all. The OPW could not find the record for this family though they were indexed as being open case with them in April of 1932. Nothing further known about family. Here we see the inadvisability of returning children to an obviously inadequate environment as the two boys in this case were returned just because it was felt that there wasn't enough evidence of their neglect by father and even though father was known to be irresponsible and intemperate. However the father seems to have gotten enough control of himself not to earn any further record in this state at least. Helen of course was placed and taken care of permanently by the City Institutions Department and has also never earned any record.

#### Case XXIV. HG.FAMILY

Patrick-\* eight years; Morris-\* five years; Hannah-\* three years; Eugene-# six years and one month.

(\* as of June 22, 1917 when first removed)

(# as of January 3, 1924 when first removed)

The parents in this family were very intemperate over a long period of treatment and chronically neglected their children. The parents were both Irish by birth and Roman Catholic by faith. Father was working as a day laborer at \$2 a day. In the course of the years, this



Father's last record was on 11-15-35 drunk. Hugo's record is as follows: 8-30-39 no license; 3-7-39 burglary, entry, at night and committed to Industrial School, but sentence was revoked on 3-11-39; 4-13-39 burglary and entering night, not guilty; 7-19-31 violation of parking rules; nothing else. Francis has a very long record, in brief, thirty-three times from 10-30-33 burglary and entering, night, and sent to prison through 1-32-37 use of auto without authorization and committed to prison on 7-21-37 give 10-14-31 registration not in possession; 2-28-33 parole; 10-14-33 re-leased under Hugo's name. Helen has no record at all. The OPW could not find the record for this family though they were indexed as being open cases with them in April of 1933. Nothing further known about family. Here we see the inadvisability of retaining children in an obviously inadequate environment as the two boys in this case were returned just because it was felt that there wasn't enough evidence of their neglect by father and even though father was known to be irresponsible and inadequate. However the father seems to have gotten enough control of himself not to earn any further record in this state at least. Helen of course was placed and taken care of permanently by the City Institutions Department and has also never earned any record.

#### Case XXIV. BOY FAMILY

Father - eight years; Mother - five years; Hannah - three years; Eugene - six years and one month.  
(\* as of June 22, 1917 when first removed)  
(\* as of January 3, 1934 when first removed)

The parents in this family were very inadequate over a

long period of treatment and chronically neglected their children. The parents were both Irish by birth and Roman Catholic by faith. Father was working as a day laborer at \$2 a day. In the course of the years, this



family has had eight children and only four survived, all four who died having died within six months of their birth.

In February of 1916 police officer reported that family was in bad condition. Parents were drunk all the time and one child had just died. Neighboring dispensary also knew the case. Later police officer reported that father was drunk most of the time. Had entered home recently and found parents drunk in bed and children in bed with them. Baby, few hours old was found dead. Home consisted of two rooms in extreme disorder. Beds were very dirty and had no sheets. Mother said that she took them off to be washed. Children were dirty and had had no breakfast. Family lived on bread and tea day before. Family was awaiting father's return when he would bring money for food. Mother reported that father was drinking heavily for last year and that she also drank but didn't get intoxicated. Father would work about three days and then drink the rest of the time. Baby died because born prematurely. Father was not abusive, but used vile language. Mother said that home was no place for children. There was going to be nothing to eat if father didn't bring back his pay envelope with him. Was earning \$2 a day as a laborer. There was no coal in the house and father was bringing wood from place of employment for fuel. Children were partly dressed. Some clothing was heaped up in a corner. Mother said that she would take children to her sister Mrs. K. Father's brother was a police officer and therefore police officers wanted to withdraw complaints, not having known this fact previously.

Father's employer reported that father was a good worker and did any work that was available. There had been little work for the past two weeks because of continued bad weather. Employer considered him



Family has had eight children and only four survived. All four who died having died within six months of their birth.

In February of 1916 police officer reported that Family was in bad condition. Parents were drunk all the time and one child had just died. Neighboring dispensary also knew the case. Later police officer reported that father was drunk most of the time. Had existed home recently and found parents drunk in bed and children in bed with them. Baby, few hours old was found dead. Home consisted of two rooms in extreme disorder. Beds were very dirty and had no sheets. Mother said that she took them off to be washed. Children were dirty and had no breakfast. Family lived on bread and tea day before. Family was awaiting father's return when he would bring money for food. Mother reported that father was drinking heavily for last year and that she also drank but didn't get intoxicated. Father would work about three days and then drink the rest of the time. Baby died because born prematurely. Father was not abusive, but used vile language. Mother said that home was no place for children. There was going to be nothing to eat if father didn't bring back his pay envelope with him. Was earning \$3 a day as a laborer. There was no coal in the house and father was bringing wood from place of employment for fuel. Children were partly dressed. Some clothing was heaped up in a corner. Mother said that she would take children to her sister Mrs. E. Father's brother was a police officer and therefore police officers wanted to withdraw complaints, not having known this fact previously.

Father's employer reported that father was a good worker and did any work that was available. There had been little work for the past two weeks because of continued bad weather. Employer considered him



steady and valuable worker. Foreman reported that he didn't know of father's drinking. Father was averaging about \$6 a week.

Paternal uncle who was also a police officer later reported that relatives help family, but that all aid goes for liquor. Both he and other paternal uncle who was a conductor helped the family and were embarrassed by father's disgraceful behavior. Paternal uncle suggested that agent ask paternal aunt M to help with food until Sunday. Latter reported that children had been neglected several months. Father and mother drank and kept wretched home. Paternal aunt reported that often when parents were out children were found all huddled up in bed and shivering with the cold. Reported that she often contributed clothing and food and money almost every week. Said that father came to the home where she was working as a maid in an intoxicated condition and thus embarrasses her. Mother is no better and reported that premature birth came as a result of mother's drinking day before. Gave agent \$1 for food. Thought that children must be removed at once.

Father was next seen and appeared to be a slight dissipated man. Worked two and a half days and had \$2 in pay envelope. Employer took out \$1.75 for rent. Police officer brought bread and milk for the family. Agent and children had lunch. Father spent some of his money for food. Father said that there was no work and would work if there was any. Admitted drinking.

On February twenty-eighth paternal uncles came to SPCC office and decided that Society should do all in their power to protect the children. Neither would take any of the children as they felt father would look upon this as a means of shifting responsibility. Paternal uncles



steady and valuable worker. Foreman reported that he didn't know of father's drinking. Father was averaging about \$6 a week.

Paternal uncle who was also a police officer later reported that relatives help family, but that all goes for liquor. Both he and other paternal uncle who was a conductor helped the family and were embarrassed by father's disgraceful behavior. Paternal uncle suggested that agent ask paternal aunt M to help with food until Sunday. Letter reported that children had been neglected several months. Father and mother drank and kept wretched home. Paternal aunt reported that often when parents were out children were found all huddled up in bed and shivering with the cold. Reported that she often contributed clothing and food and money almost every week. Said that father came to the home where she was working as a maid in an intoxicated condition and then embarrassed her. Mother is no better and reported that premature birth came as a result of mother's drinking day before. Gave agent \$1 for food. Thought that children must be removed at once.

Father was next seen and appeared to be a slight dissipated man. Worked two and a half days and had \$2 in pay envelope. Employer took out \$1.75 for rent. Police officer brought bread and milk for the family. Agent and children had lunch. Father spent some of his money for food. Father said that there was no work and would work if there was any. Admitted drinking.

On February twenty-eighth paternal uncles came to SPCC office and decided that Society should do all in their power to protect the children. Neither would take any of the children as they felt father would look upon this as a means of shifting responsibility. Paternal uncles



reported that if mother was of different sort they could help, but as she was as bad as father they could do nothing. Neither was willing to testify because of their jobs.

Patrick's teacher reported that he was undernourished. Had insufficient clothing and did poor work. Attendance was very poor. Agreed to testify. School nurse reported that child was anemic. Police officers also agreed to testify.

On March 2, 1916 father was working and there was enough food in the house for the day. Neighbor reported that father was seen drunk several times. Mother may drink but was never seen intoxicated. Another neighbor reported that both parents were intoxicated and were causing disturbance and were having intoxicated guests. Settlement worker complained of parents' drinking. School visitor reported that the house was in wretched condition, was dirty and meagrely furnished. Police officer was willing to testify that he saw mother intoxicated. Paternal uncle reported that he was now willing to take Patrick if father was willing to stay away and other paternal uncle would take care of another child by paying for him in a private foster home. Father was at home and was sober. Had earned \$11 and had \$6 left after deductions were made for rent and wage advancements. Father said that he could keep sober if he wanted and had been so last week. House was in better condition and there was coal fire burning. Plenty of food in home. Neighbor was afraid to testify as she often left her children alone and feared that father might harm them.

On March 7, 1916 complaint of neglect was made against Patrick, Morris and Hannah. On March tenth children were found to be neglected but were to remain with parents under the supervision of the SPCC



reported that if mother was of different sort they could help, but as she was as bad as father they could do nothing. Mother was willing to testify because of their jobs.

Patrick's teacher reported that he was undernourished. Had insufficient clothing and did poor work. Attendance was very poor. Agreed to testify. School nurse reported that child was emaciated. Police officers also agreed to testify.

On March 2, 1918 father was working and there was enough food in the house for the day. Neighbor reported that father was seen drunk several times. Mother may drink but was never seen intoxicated. Another neighbor reported that both parents were intoxicated and were causing disturbance and were having intoxicated guests. Settlement worker complained of parents' drinking. School visitor reported that the house was in wretched condition, was dirty and meagerly furnished. Police officer was willing to testify that he saw mother intoxicated. Paternal uncle reported that he was now willing to take Patrick if father was willing to stay away and other paternal uncle would take care of another child by paying for him in a private foster home. Father was at home and was sober. Had earned

\$11 and had \$6 left after deductions were made for rent and wage advancements. Father said that he could keep sober if he wanted and had been so last week. House was in better condition and there was coal fire burning. Plenty of food in home. Neighbor was afraid to testify as she often left her children alone and feared that father might harm them.

On March 5, 1918 complaint of neglect was made against

Patrick, Morris and Hannah. On March tenth children were found to be neglected but were to remain with parents under the supervision of the SPOC



agent. On March fifteenth mother reported that family was moving to two room apartment and mother was to care for lodging house in return for \$1.50 and lodging. Mother said that father was not drinking and children had the necessities of life. Mother was cordial and cooperative. On April sixth mother was at office. Said that father had worked two afternoons since moving. Was drinking on and off for two weeks. Kept family awake the previous day. Mother wanted children placed with uncles. Said that she could probably obtain work and pay for their board. Mother quarrelled with their landlady and was ordered out. Agent advised mother to become reconciled with uncles and to ask landlady if she could stay a week longer. Next day father was drunk and got another job after leaving one because of a fight with the foreman. Uncles brought food for two days and advised mother to leave father. Later father was still working and gave mother a dollar. Mother asked agent to supervise as father is afraid to go against agent. Father's foreman on previous job was now willing to take him back.

In May father had a new job. Paternal uncle reported that he didn't want to bother with father's family and objected to taking action. Police officer reported father seen in saloons. Paternal aunt admitted father's culpability but wouldn't testify. Mother said father was earning \$16 a week and warned him she would complain if he got drunk again.

In November landlady put mother out because both parents were drinking. Paternal uncle didn't want children since he feared father might make a row at his home or at the station house where he worked. Knew nothing of father since March. Family were now living in tenement at ten dollars a month. Father was making twenty dollars a week working as taxi driver. Father said that mother wasn't working and that they have enough food, clothing, and fuel. Resented so-called interference of agency.



19

Agent. On March fifteenth mother reported that family was moving to two room apartment and mother was to care for lodging house in return for \$1.50 and lodging. Mother said that father was not drinking and children had the necessities of life. Mother was cordial and cooperative. On April sixth mother was at office. Said that father had worked two afternoons since moving. Was drinking on and off for two weeks. Left family awake the previous day. Mother wanted children placed with uncles. Said that she could probably obtain work and pay for their board. Mother quarrelled with their landlady and was ordered out. Agent advised mother to become reconciled with uncles and to ask landlady if she could stay a week longer. Next day father was drunk and got another job after leaving one because of a fight with the foreman. Uncles brought food for two days and advised mother to leave father. Later father was still working and gave mother a dollar. Mother asked agent to supervise as father is afraid to go against agent. Father's foreman on previous job was now willing to take him back. In May father had a new job. Paternal uncle reported that he didn't want to bother with father's family and objected to taking action. Police officer reported father seen in saloons. Paternal aunt admitted father's culpability but wouldn't testify. Mother said father was earning \$15 a week and warned him she would complain if he got drunk again. In November landlady put mother out because both parents were drinking. Paternal uncle didn't want children since he feared father might make a row at his home or at the station house where he worked. Knew nothing of father since March. Family were now living in tenement at ten dollars a month. Father was making twenty dollars a week working as taxi driver. Father said that mother wasn't working and that they have enough food, clothing, and fuel. Resented so-called interference of agency.



Neighbor reported that children hadn't enough clothing. Another reported father drinking and mother a hard worker. Another thought mother was doing all she could for children. Father considered a drunkard. Another reported same. Morris and Hannah report father out of work. In December mother was working out two days a week at two dollars a day and carfares. Morris was in school the first day since the session began. Only used bedroom and kitchen and whole family slept in one bed. Mother agreed to remedy this as soon as rent was paid. Father wasn't drinking so much as before. Later father was still working, mother in town with baby, Patrick in school and Morris at home alone. Home clean and comfortable.

In January of 1917 home was in good condition. In April Patrick reported that father worked in garage and mother doing day work and leaving baby with paternal aunt. In May police officer reported mother drinking and was willing to testify. On May twenty-fifth mother was arrested for drunkenness, but probation officer didn't have family address. In June children were placed with maternal aunt. In December probation officer reported mother went to maternity hospital. Paternal uncle wanted to adopt Patrick, but Judge didn't think this was wise. In June of 1918 children were placed in private homes by the HDCC. Mother visited very infrequently. Later father was again arrested.

On December 24, 1918 home was clean and comfortable. Mother reported that children returned when they started housekeeping. Patrick and Morris were going to parochial school. Hannah was spending holidays in former HDCC foster home. Morris was well-dressed. Father was in bed with rheumatism and expected to return to the Boston Elevated where he was earning \$45 a week. Mother said father gave her all his earnings and took drink occasionally but never got intoxicated. Paternal uncle and



Neighbor reported that children hadn't enough clothing. Another reported  
 father drinking and mother a hard worker. Another thought mother was doing  
 all she could for children. Father considered a drunkard. Another reported  
 same. Morris and Hannah report father out of work. In December mother was  
 working out two days a week at two dollars a day and carter. Morris was  
 in school the first day since the session began. Only used bedroom and  
 kitchen and whole family slept in one bed. Mother agreed to remedy this as  
 soon as rent was paid. Father wasn't drinking so much as before. Later  
 father was still working, mother in town with baby, Patrick in school and  
 Morris at home alone. Home clean and comfortable.  
 In January of 1914 home was in good condition. In April  
 Patrick reported that father worked in garage and mother doing day work and  
 leaving baby with paternal aunt. In May police officer reported mother  
 drinking and was willing to testify. On May twenty-fifth mother was arrest-  
 ed for drunkenness, but probation officer didn't have family address. In  
 June children were placed with maternal aunt. In December probation officer  
 reported mother went to maternity hospital. Paternal uncle wanted to adopt  
 Patrick, but Judge didn't think this was wise. In June of 1918 children  
 were placed in private home by the HDCC. Mother visited very infrequently.  
 Later father was again arrested.  
 On December 24, 1918 home was clean and comfortable.  
 Mother reported that children returned when they started housekeeping.  
 Patrick and Morris were going to parochial school. Hannah was spending  
 holidays in former HDCC foster home. Morris was well-dressed. Father was  
 in bed with rheumatism and expected to return to the Boston Elevated where  
 he was earning \$43 a week. Mother said father gave her all his earnings  
 and took drink occasionally but never got intoxicated. Paternal uncle and



aunt were living around the corner and were friendly. Probation officer gave favorable report of father. Home and children were in good condition in May of 1919. Family had a plentiful supper. Father was working in auto company at \$25 a week. Father was still drinking a little.

In May of 1920 mother reported father hadn't had drink since Prohibition became effective. Patrick and Morris were in the third grade. Hannah was in the first grade. Family were paying \$9 a month rent and father was allowed \$4.50 of this for extra work he did around the place. Baby was born 2-20-20. Rooms were poorly kept and beds were dirty. Mother seemed to be unwell. Father was working for a bottle company at \$30 a week, driving truck and packing. Father was angry because of agent's inquiry. Third grade teacher reported Patrick to be slovenly and underactive. Morris was more normal and did better work. Hannah's teacher reported her in good condition, and having regular attendance.

In August mother was working. Father was working at same place. Mother was making \$15 a week. Patrick was with the paternal uncle most of summer and improved physically. Baby died on the fifth of this month. Neighbors cared for the children and mother came home at noon. In September mother reported that father was out of work. Patrick and Morris were in the fourth grade and were attending regularly and were fairly cleanly. Patrick reported mother not working and father working. In October mother was not working. Father left place of employment since work was too hard. Working for a contractor.

In May of 1922 neighbors reported that father was at home a lot and recently was arrested. Mother was also out of work now. Hannah was not there very much. Parents quarrelled at all hours of night. Also have very late visitors. Police sergeant spoke with them Sunday afternoon.



about were living around the corner and were friendly. Prohibition officer gave favorable report of father. Home and children were in good condition in May of 1919. Family had a plentiful supper. Father was working in auto company at \$25 a week. Mother was still drinking a little.

In May of 1920 mother reported father hadn't had drink since Prohibition became effective. Patrick and Morris were in the third grade. Hannah was in the first grade. Family were paying \$2 a month rent and father was allowed \$4.50 of this for extra work he did around the place. Baby was born 2-20-20. Rooms were poorly kept and beds were dirty. Mother seemed to be unwell. Father was working for a bottle company at \$30 a week, driving truck and packing. Father was angry because of agent's inquiry.

Third grade teacher reported Patrick to be slovenly and unresponsive. Morris was more normal and did better work. Hannah's teacher reported her in good condition, and having regular attendance.

In August mother was working. Father was working at same place. Mother was making \$15 a week. Patrick was with the paternal grandfather.

most of summer and improved physically. Baby died on the fifth of this month. Neighbors cared for the children and mother came home at noon. In September mother reported that father was out of work. Patrick and Morris were in the fourth grade and were attending regularly and were fairly clean.

ly. Patrick reported mother not working and father working. In October mother was not working. Father left place of employment since work was too hard. Working for a contractor.

In May of 1922 neighbors reported that father was at home a lot and recently was arrested. Mother was also out of work now. Hannah was not there very much. Parents quarrelled at all hours of night. Also have very late visitors. Police sergeant spoke with them Sunday afternoon.



Family owed twelve weeks back rent and were ordered to move. Later mother said she made complaint of non-support against father in April and he was sentenced to six months House of Correction. Sentence was confirmed and he was now in House of Correction. Mother was to receive \$11 a week from the OPW while father was incarcerated. Mother was selling liquor in home for two or three weeks. Man and two women were with mother. Mother owed about fourteen or fifteen weeks back rent and wanted to move. Mother was sleeping with all the children in one bed, and another woman who keeps her company nights in another. Mother was warned to stop drinking and get rid of company and to furnish boys with a separate bed. Neighbor reported mother had plenty of callers. In June mother was living in three rooms in basement at \$11 a month. Expected confinement in July and looked better.

In August colored neighbor reported mother had baby boy in June and therefore had father paroled. Mother was good woman and was not drinking. Father when he returned began drinking and had drinking company and used vile language. Family was ordered out because of father's conduct. Left mother few weeks ago. Moved previous day. Mother had father returned to House of Correction. Patrick was working in a market running errands. In September mother reported that Institutions Department insisted that father be paroled against her wishes and that after father was paroled he deserted her. Mother was receiving \$10 a week from the OPW. Now worker of Institutions Department wanted father returned. Later BCH social worker reported baby in hospital in starving condition and mother smelling of liquor. Mother appeared to be intoxicated. Mother was not nursing baby, who is still on the danger list and is neglected. Baby suffering from improper feeding. Mother reported that father returned September third and said he had been working on the railroad and earned \$150. Left again



Family owed twelve weeks back rent and were ordered to move. Later mother said she made complaint of non-support against father in April and he was sentenced to six months House of Correction. Sentence was confirmed and he was now in House of Correction. Mother was to receive \$11 a week from the CPW while father was incarcerated. Mother was selling liquor in home for two or three weeks. Man and two women were with mother. Mother owed about fourteen or fifteen weeks back rent and wanted to move. Mother was sleeping with all the children in one bed, and another woman who keeps her company nights in another. Mother was warned to stop drinking and get rid of company and to furnish boys with a separate bed. Neighbor reported mother had plenty of callers. In June mother was living in three rooms in basement at \$11 a month. Expected confinement in July and looked better. In August colored neighbor reported mother had baby boy in June and therefore had father paroled. Mother was good woman and was not drinking. Father when he returned began drinking and had drinking company and used vile language. Family was ordered out because of father's conduct. Left mother few weeks ago. Moved previous day. Mother had father returned to House of Correction. Patrick was working in a market running errands. In September mother reported that Institutions Department insisted that father be paroled against her wishes and that after father was paroled he deserted her. Mother was receiving \$10 a week from the CPW. Now mother of Institutions Department wanted father returned. Later RCM school worker reported baby in hospital in starving condition and mother swelling of liquor. Mother appeared to be intoxicated. Mother was not nursing baby, who is still on the danger list and is neglected. Baby suffering from improper feeding. Mother reported that father returned September third and said he had been working on the railroad and earned \$150. Last train



September twenty-first. Bought clothing for children and paid burial expenses of baby. OPW was still supporting family. Later neighbor reported father abusive. Mother was not drinking and father was sent back to the House of Correction on September twenty-first by Institutions Department worker. BCH reported mother probably drunk when baby brought. James died in October. Institutions Department was again advocating father's parole and mother was warned against drinking and her companionships. Father was to be released on October twenty-eighth. Patrick and Morris reported underweight by school. In November reported father released on November fourth and now working for a bottle company. Later in the month father came to office and reported that mother was drinking heavily. Refused to prepare meals for family and quarrelled with him. Father had to go to sleep to Salvation Army one night on account of her, things were so bad. Mother was found intoxicated in bed by Institutions Department worker and mother was abusive and profane to her. Father threw up job and got job in another bottling company. Father reported that he was working regularly and giving all his money to mother since release from jail. Purchased clothing and groceries for children. Father refused to have mother arrested. Said he didn't want children disgraced. In December father reported that mother was at maternal aunt's home and hadn't had drink since November twenty-ninth, almost a month. Father was earning \$20 a week. Father smelled of liquor and was warned against drinking. Youngest child Eugene was fairly well.

~~Arrested. Patrick~~ In March of 1923 father was at home with badly injured foot. Said that he also had blood poisoning. Hurt while working for bottling company. May be able to go to work later in month. Had been getting \$27 a week and now family were receiving \$6 to \$8 a week from the OPW. Later in month school reported that Patrick, Morris, and Hannah were underweight.



September twenty-first. Bought clothing for children and paid burial expenses of baby. OPA was still supporting family. Later neighbor reported father abusive. Mother was not drinking and father was sent back to the House of Correction on September twenty-first by Institutions Department worker. BOM reported mother probably drunk when baby brought. James died in October. Institutions Department was again advocating father's parole and mother was warned against drinking and her companionship. Father was to be released on October twenty-ninth. Patrick and Morris reported underweight by school. In November reported father released on November fourth and now working for a bottle company. Later in the month father came to office and reported that mother was drinking heavily. Refused to prepare meals for family and quarrelled with him. Father had to go to sleep to Salvation Army one night on account of her. Things were so bad. Mother was found intoxicated in bed by Institutions Department worker and mother was abusive and profane to her. Father threw up job and got job in another bottling company. Father reported that he was working regularly and giving all his money to mother since release from jail. Purchased clothing and groceries for children. Father refused to have mother arrested. Said he didn't want children distracted. In December father reported that mother was at maternal aunt's home and hadn't had drink since November twenty-ninth. Almost a month. Father was earning \$20 a week. Father smelled of liquor and was warned against drinking. Youngest child Eugene was fairly well. In March of 1933 father was at home with badly injured foot. Said that he also had blood poisoning. Hurt while working for bottling company. May be able to go to work later in month. Had been getting \$27 a week and now family were receiving \$6 to \$8 a week from the OPA. Later in month school reported that Patrick, Morris, and Hannah were underweight.



Teachers were furnishing them with milk. Attendance officer reported suspicious visitors. In April OPW visitor reported father commenced work but again was sick at the BCH with pneumonia.

In June father was very ill and at the BCH for fifteen days. Drank liquor in company of uncle few days ago, and was so ill he had sworn off liquor for good. Mother reported that Patrick was doing better in school since he gave up his work and that they now received \$10 a week from the OPW and five dollar grocery order. In September mother reported father recovered but was drinking again. Father deserted in August. Mother was working by the day and was making \$3 a day plus carfares. Earned five dollars and eighty cents one day by washing windows. All four children were in school. Home very inadequately furnished. Mother reported all children slept in one bed. Mother was urged to apply to OPW for mattress so that she and Hannah could sleep together. In October police officer reported parents drinking. Mother was on probation and the children were dirty. Later same reported he arrested mother about two months ago for drunkenness and mother was on probation at the time. Probation officer reported lack of time to supervise children. Later father was reported to have returned October twentieth and was doing temporary work for the city at \$3.80 per day. Hadn't drunk much since return. Eugene was home with the measles. OPW sent \$7 plus \$3 grocery order during the last four weeks. Had new mattress but no bedding. Mother said that father instead of herself should have been arrested. Patrick was working two afternoons a week for a peddler and earned 50¢ a day. Children were neat and clean. Rooms better than in former address but scantily furnished. In December probation officer reported that paternal relatives wanted children removed. Didn't want parents to know who made complaint. Father was arrested December eighth and sent to House of



Teachers were furnishing them with milk. Attendance officer reported  
anxious visitor. In April OPW visitor reported father commenced work  
but again was sick at the BCH with pneumonia.

In June father was very ill and at the BCH for fifteen days.  
Frank liquor in company of uncle few days ago, and was so ill he had sworn  
off liquor for good. Mother reported that Patrick was doing better in  
school since he gave up his work and that they now received \$10 a week from  
the OPW and five dollar grocery order. In September mother reported father  
recovered but was drinking again. Father deserted in August. Mother was  
working by the day and was making \$8 a day plus carfare. Earned five dol-  
lars and eighty cents one day by washing windows. All four children were  
in school. Home very inadequately furnished. Mother reported all children  
sleep in one bed. Mother was urged to apply to OPW for mattress so that she  
and Hannah could sleep together. In October police officer reported parents  
drinking. Mother was on probation and the children were dirty. Later name  
reported he arrested mother about two months ago for drunkenness and mother  
was on probation at the time. Probation officer reported lack of time to  
supervise children. Later father was reported to have returned October  
twentieth and was doing temporary work for the city at \$3.00 per day. He had  
drunk much since return. Eugene was home with the measles. OPW sent \$7  
plus \$3 grocery order during the last four weeks. Had new mattress but no  
bedding. Mother said that father instead of himself should have been  
arrested. Patrick was working two afternoons a week for a peddler and  
earned 50¢ a day. Children were neat and clean. Home better than in former  
address but scantily furnished. In December probation officer reported that  
paternal relatives wanted children removed. Didn't want parents to know who  
made complaint. Father was arrested December eighth and sent to House of



Correction for drunkenness and setting fire to the house. On December thirty-first mother reported father in court on non-support charge on December seventh and given six months suspended sentence to House of Correction. No order for payment. Next day was drunk and set fire to mattress while smoking. Arrested and given his suspended sentence. Father was hit on head with a monkey wrench by guard and was now in the Psychopathic Hospital. Hannah was sleeping with boys. OPW sent \$10 a week and three dollar grocery order. Home and beds were filthy. Police officers reported mother drunk on floor on December twenty-eighth. Two women were drunk on one of the beds. December twenty-ninth and thirtieth mother was drunk in bed. JH was drinking with mother other day.

On January 2, 1924 complaint of neglect was made against all four children and next day children were sent to HDCC. Mother was sent to the HGS. On January ninth maternal aunt R agreed to take Patrick. Aunt M to take Hannah. Paternal uncle and paternal aunt C were to take two of the children. On January twenty-first Institutions Department denied father struck on head with monkey wrench by guard. In April probation officer reported mother released from HGS on 4-6-24. Now with maternal aunt R.

In May 1926 father and mother had five room tenement at \$18 a month. Were living together for two months. Visitor from HDCC recommended trial of children at home. Father was working as taxi driver. Was earning \$25 a week. Mother was well and parents were well dressed. Maternal aunt's daughter-in-law reported children were happy with her. Mother and children went to live with father two months ago. In May father was asleep at home. Mother was at work. Father said that they pay \$20 a month. Admitted children at home two months and said that mother was working off and on for Judge's wife at \$4 to \$4.50. Patrick was earning \$10 a week.



Correction for drunkenness and setting fire to the house. On December  
thirty-first mother reported father in court on non-support charge on  
December seventh and given six months suspended sentence to House of Correc-  
tion. No order for payment. Next day was drunk and set fire to mattress  
while smoking. Arrested and given his suspended sentence. Father was hit  
on head with a monkey wrench by guard and was now in the Psychopathic Hos-  
pital. Hannah was sleeping with boys. GPW sent \$10 a week and three  
dollar grocery order. Home and beds were filthy. Police officers reported  
mother drunk on floor on December twenty-eighth. Two women were drunk on  
one of the beds. December twenty-ninth and thirtieth mother was drunk in  
bed. He was drinking with mother other day.  
On January 2, 1934 complaint of neglect was made against  
all four children and next day children were sent to HDCC. Mother was sent  
to the HHS. On January ninth maternal aunt E agreed to take Patrick. Aunt  
M to take Hannah. Paternal uncle and paternal aunt C were to take the  
the children. On January twenty-first Inspections Department denied father  
stroke on head with monkey wrench by guard. In April probation officer re-  
ported mother released from HHS on 4-6-34. Now with maternal aunt E.  
In May 1935 father and mother had five room tenement at \$18  
a month. Were living together for two months. Visitor from HDCC recommend-  
ed trial of children at home. Father was working as taxi driver. Was earn-  
ing \$25 a week. Mother was well and parents were well dressed. Maternal  
aunt's daughter-in-law reported children were happy with her. Mother and  
children went to live with father two months ago. In May father was salaried  
at home. Mother was at work. Father said that they pay \$50 a month. Ad-  
mitted children at home two months and said that mother was working off and  
on for Judge's wife at \$4 to \$4.50. Patrick was earning \$10 a week.



Morris was in high school and worked in market after school. Hannah was in the seventh grade and Eugene in the second. Father worked at \$25 a week as washer of taxi cars. Rooms were in fair condition and fairly well furnished. Former employer reported father handicap to mother and that he isn't working for taxi company. On May twenty-seventh father lied about work and mother corroborated fact he was lying. Judge advised mother to keep children and take steps against father's drinking and misbehavior. Mother said that father was working on railroad in New Jersey last summer at \$21 a week and while there was drinking and listed in a New York hospital with delirium tremens. Children were returned by court order.

In February of 1927 family moved and neighbor reported mother worked hard to do well for children but father was abusive and spoiled everything. According to record father was surrendered from probation on 9-11-26 and sentenced to six months House of Correction and \$100 fine for drunkenness. In February of 1928 family was not located, but no complaints, and case of neglect of children was filed. In June of 1928 probation officer reported father in court for drunkenness. Father in court first time in two years. According to CCB record, read in February of 1935 by writer, father came to get shoes so that he might go to work on the CWA as a laborer. This occurred 12- -33. All children were at home at the time. The Women's Educational and Industrial Union social worker reports that Hannah on October 27, 1932 was sent in by hospital as undernourished high school graduate. Also had year at the Boston Clerical School and secretarial work. Had some experiences in summer as waitress and wanted part time job so as to be able to stay in school. Got job in a five and ten store and was a very good worker. Never returned for further help. Was a meticulous worker and was short and pretty girl.



Morris was in high school and worked in market after school. Hannah was in the seventh grade and Eugene in the second. Father worked at \$25 a week as washer of taxi cars. Rooms were in fair condition and fairly well furnished. Former employer reported father handled as mother and that he isn't working for taxi company. On May twenty-seventh father lied about work and mother corroborated that he was lying. Judge advised mother to keep children and take steps against father's drinking and misbehavior. Mother said that father was working on railroad in New Jersey last summer at \$21 a week and while there was drinking and lived in a New York hospital with delirium tremens. Children were returned by court order.

In February of 1927 family moved and neighbor reported

mother worked hard to do well for children but father was abusive and applied everything. According to record father was separated from probation on 9-11-28 and sentenced to six months House of Correction and \$100 fine for drunkenness. In February of 1928 family was not located, but no complaints, and case of neglect of children was filed. In June of 1928 probation officer reported father in court for drunkenness. Father in court first time in two years. According to CBS record, read in February of 1928 by writer, father came to get shoes so that he might go to work on the CWA as a laborer. This occurred 12-23. All children were at home at the time. The Women's Educational and Industrial Union social worker reports that Hannah on October 27, 1928 was sent to hospital as undisciplined high school graduate. Also had year at Boston Clerical School and secretarial work. Had some experience in summer as waitress and wanted part time job so as to be able to stay in school. Got job in a five and ten store and was a very good worker. Never returned for further help. Was a motherly worker and was short and pretty girl.



As far as records go, father's record was not available. Mother's record had nothing more recent than 6-10-24 drunk, fine of \$2, paid. Patrick had one very minor offense that was filed namely present at game on 9-17-25. Nothing else on any of the members of the family.

In this case we have a family that is buffeted about largely by the instability of the parents economically and emotionally. Only after long treatment did the mother sober down and it is doubtful whether the father has as yet ever made a permanent adjustment. He was however loyal to his family despite his weaknesses and this loyalty has probably kept the family together to this day. The children have been successes so far as records show. More work could very well have been done if the cause of the parents' alcoholism could be determined and probably more rational treatment would thus have been made possible.

---

Case XXV. BI.FAMILY

Vincent- twelve years and two months.

Parents were heavy drinkers. Mother was a chronic alcoholic and has long record of charges of drunkenness. Both parents were American born, and Roman Catholic by faith. Father was a cook and died of accidental poisoning 1-4-13.

In June of 1905 mother reported that father was loafing and drinking. Wanted to make non-support complaint. Father was a cook in some of the best hotels in the city. However always lost jobs on account of drunkenness. Last job at very important in-town hotel lost for the same reason. Supported very little last year. Wife made complaint. Father was arrested on June fifth and pleaded guilty in court and placed on probation on promise to pay mother fifty dollars a month for family upkeep. Father



As far as records go, father's record was not available.  
Mother's record had nothing more recent than 5-10-34 drunk, fine of \$25 paid.  
Patrick had one very minor offense that was filed namely present at game on  
9-14-35. Nothing else on any of the members of the family.

In this case we have a family that is buffeted about  
largely by the instability of the parents economically and emotionally. Only  
after long treatment did the mother sober down and it is doubtful whether  
the father has as yet ever made a permanent adjustment. He was however  
loyal to his family despite his weaknesses and his loyalty has probably  
kept the family together to this day. The children have been successful so  
far as records show. More work could very well have been done if the course  
of the parents' alcoholism could be determined and probably more rational  
treatment would thus have been possible.

Case XIV. H. FAMILY

Vincent—twelve years and two months.

Parents were heavy drinkers. Mother was a chronic alco-  
holic and has long record of charges of drunkenness. Both parents were  
American born, and Roman Catholic by faith. Father was a cook and died of  
accidental poisoning 1-4-18.

In June of 1903 mother reported that father was loading  
and drinking. Wanted to make non-support complaint. Father was a cook in  
some of the best hotels in the city. However always lost jobs on account  
of drunkenness. Last job at very important in-town hotel lost for the same  
reason. Supported very little last year. Wife made complaint. Father was  
arrested on June fifth and pleaded guilty in court and placed on probation  
on promise to pay mother fifty dollars a month for family upkeep. Father



had a job at a fashionable resort beginning June twenty-fourth.

In March of 1911 father's attorney at office to ask investigation of mother's alleged neglect of children. Father was on probation from court and ordered to pay mother \$6 a week. Children were in the custody of mother. Complainant seemed to be very inconsistent. In April probation officer reported father first class cook but didn't provide because of excessive drinking. Mother was a seamstress with very hot-temper, and nagged father continuously. Father was not at home. Father was trying to get work. Children were not neglected by mother.

In June of 1925 probation officer reported mother a widow and before court for the third time on charge of drunkenness. Mother was remanded to jail till June eleventh. Full bail was not furnished. Boy boarded out. Judge urged that complaint be made and latter was so done. Neighbor reported mother drinking and using vile and malicious language about people since she moved in two months ago. Boarder in home also drinker and was arrested. Vincent was not at home. Woman who was boarding child reported that mother goes out half dressed when intoxicated and whips Vincent and makes him go out in street any time of the night.

Landlord reports mother drunk and owing one week rent. Vincent reports he came home at 10 p.m. last night. Knew that mother was arrested and wasn't much worried. House was upset. Beds were filthy and there were dirty clothes in the closet. Vincent said that mother was getting them ready for the laundry. Vincent was out of school to do errands and didn't go back because he was late. Two sisters were on the stage. Ernest was Ethel's child and his nephew. Vincent was selling papers.

On June 9, 1925 mother reported that Vincent was born three months after father's death. Both daughters were sending her \$10 a week and



had a job at a fashionable resort beginning June twenty-fourth.

In March of 1911 father's attorney at office to ask investigation of mother's alleged neglect of children. Father was on probation from court and ordered to pay mother \$8 a week. Children were in the custody of mother. Complaint seemed to be very inconsistent. In April probation officer reported father first class cook but didn't provide because of excessive drinking. Mother was a seamstress with very hot-temper, and neglected father continuously. Father was not at home. Father was trying to get work. Children were not neglected by mother.

In June of 1925 probation officer reported mother a widow and before court for the third time on charge of drunkenness. Mother was remanded to jail till June eleventh. Jail bail was not furnished. Boy boarded out. Judge urged that complaint be made and father was so done. Neighbor reported mother drinking and using vile and malicious language about people since she moved in two months ago. Neighbor in home also drinker and was arrested. Vincent was not at home. Woman who was boarding child reported that mother goes out half dressed when intoxicated and whip Vincent and makes him go out in street any time of the night.

Landford reports mother drunk and owing one week rent. Vincent reports he came home at 10 p.m. last night. Knew that mother was arrested and wasn't much worried. House was upset. Beds were filthy and there were dirty clothes in the closet. Vincent said that mother was getting them ready for the laundry. Vincent was out of school to do errands and didn't go back because he was late. Two sisters were on the steps. Ernest was Ethel's child and his nephew. Vincent was selling papers.

On June 9, 1925 mother reported that Vincent was born three months after father's death. Both daughters were working her \$10 a week and



she had over \$10 with her. One daughter to return from work on the sixteenth. Agent found mother's hat and shoes at home but no purse with money as she claimed. Vincent was sent to the HDCC. On June eleventh mother reported that boarder was EL, a paternal cousin. Was a married man and came to her house and got drunk every now and then. Mother wanted to return home and stop drinking. Mother was given six months suspended sentence and probation for year. On June thirtieth mother and two daughters came to office all excited except Vera who seemed the most intelligent of the three. Mother wanted Vera to be guardian of Vincent. Promised to stop drinking. On July second mother and daughters did not appear in court as they had promised. On November second mother at office reported that she lived in a three room apartment and paying \$10 a month. Ethel married last August. Ethel and husband were living with mother. Latter was paying the rent and daughter contributing to mother's support. Mother was nervous and irritable and wanted Vincent returned. Vincent was still at the HDCC because of lack of eyeglasses. Mother denied that she had been drinking since in court. Neighbor reported mother still drinking. Another reported that mother was still drinking after child was removed. A drunken man used to visit before daughter returned. On November third house was clean and comfortable. Mother denied having drunken man at home and son-in-law was only man in the house. Said that after court drank one day to sober off, but was nervous since. Very irritable and nervous and refused to go to hospital and had grudge against agent for keeping Vincent. Vincent returned on November fifth.

On February 1, 1926, mother's health was improved and spirits in better mood, especially since Ethel had come home to live with her. Vincent was going to school regularly and had glasses. Mother was trying to do the right thing. Mother promised not to drink. Said that



she had over \$10 with her. One daughter to return from work on the sixteen-  
th. Agent found mother's hat and shoes at home but no purse with money as  
she claimed. Vincent was sent to the HCCO. On June eleventh mother reported  
that that border was KJ, a personal cousin. Was a married man and came to  
her house and got drunk every now and then. Mother wanted to return home  
and stop drinking. Mother was given six months suspended sentence and pro-  
bation for year. On June thirtieth mother and two daughters came to office  
all excited except Vera who seemed the most intelligent of the three. Mother  
wanted Vera to be guardian of Vincent. Promised to stop drinking. On July  
second mother and daughters did not appear in court as they had promised.  
On November second mother at office reported that she lived in a three room  
apartment and paying \$10 a month. Ethel married last August. Ethel and  
husband were living with mother. Father was paying the rent and daughter  
contributing to mother's support. Mother was nervous and irritable and  
wanted Vincent returned. Vincent was still at the HCCO because of lack of  
eyeglasses. Mother denied that she had been drinking since in court. Neigh-  
bor reported mother still drinking. Another reported that mother was still  
drinking after child was removed. A drunken man used to visit before daughter  
returned. On November third house was clean and comfortable. Mother denied  
having drunken man at home and son-in-law was only man in the house. Said  
that after court drunk one day to sober off, but was nervous since. Very  
irritable and nervous and refused to go to hospital and had grudge against  
agent for keeping Vincent. Vincent returned on November fifth.  
On February 1, 1938, mother's health was improved and  
positive in better mood, especially since Ethel had come home to live with  
her. Vincent was going to school regularly and had glasses. Mother was  
trying to do the right thing. Mother promised not to drink. Said that



father gave her hard life and Vera was still on the road and acting on vaudeville circuits. House clean. In April probation officer reported that mother was arrested for being with a man and was surrendered by the court and away for two months. Was living alone now with Vincent and sleeping with him in same bed. Boy was temporarily with sister and neglect charge might be necessary once again. Later agent reported that Ethel's home was probably all right for Vincent. Probation officer reported mother was on indeterminate sentence to Bridgewater. May be paroled after three months. Landlady reported that four policemen couldn't quiet mother all night and arrested her. No man was in room. In three weeks since living in present quarters she had been violently drunk three times. Mother reported that whiskey was in her room by doctor's orders. Reported that Ethel and husband were fine people. Vincent was well taken care of. Vincent was out very late at night as mother was drunk. Ethel said that she and her husband were willing to keep and support Vincent. Vera wanted guardianship. In July of 1926 landlady reported that Vincent went to live with Vera. Vera was employed at a night club recently. She and Ethel kept late hours and allowed Vincent to stay up late hours. Ethel reported Vera planned to have mother with her. Ethel was sure the State Farm experience would teach her a lesson. Doctor said that some of mother's behavior was excusable since she was going through the menopause crisis. In September landlady reported that Vera left and mother was not drinking. Later probation officer reported that Vincent still sleeping with mother. In October landlady reported that Vincent had a room for himself and mother trying her best.

In February of 1927 CAA agent reported anonymous complaint of neglect against Vincent. Mother was drinking steadily and boy often



of neglect against Vincent. Mother was drinking steadily and was often  
In February of 1937 GAA agent reported anonymous complaint  
landlady reported that Vincent had a room for himself and mother trying her  
bestion officer reported that Vincent still sleeping with mother. In October  
landlady reported that Vera left and mother was not drinking. Later pro-  
secution officer reported that Vincent still sleeping with mother. In September  
would teach her a lesson. Doctor said that some of mother's behavior was  
excusable since she was going through the menopause crisis. In September  
planned to have mother with her. Ethel was sure the State Farm experience  
face hours and allowed Vincent to stay up late hours. Ethel reported Vera  
with Vera. Vera was employed at a night club recently. She and Ethel kept  
guardianship. In July of 1938 landlady reported that Vincent went to live  
and her husband were willing to keep and support Vincent. Vera wanted  
cent was out very late at night as mother was drunk. Ethel said that she  
Ethel and husband were fine people. Vincent was well taken care of. Ver-  
ported that whiskey was in her room by doctor's orders. Reported that  
in present quarters she had been violently drunk three times. Mother re-  
night and arrested her. No man was in room. In three weeks since living  
months. Landlady reported that four policemen couldn't catch mother all  
was an indeterminate sentence to Bridgewater. May be paroled after three  
home was probably all right for Vincent. Probation officer reported mother  
charge might be necessary once again. Later agent reported that Ethel's  
tag with him in same bed. Boy was temporarily with sister and neglected  
court and away for two months. Was living alone now with Vincent and sister  
that mother was arrested for being with a man and was surrendered by the  
Vanderbilt officials. Home clean. In April probation officer reported  
father gave her hard life and Vera was still on the road and nothing on



truanted. Boy and mother were living in one room and slept together.

Question of mother's morals. *Part of Bridgeview. Vincent was in home with*

*mother. Later* In March of 1927 CAA reported another complaint against Vincent as neglected and out till one a.m. selling papers. Later landlady reported Mother and Vincent moved owing \$13.50 rent. Vincent was badly neglected, and was out every night till one or two a.m. selling papers. Difficult for him to get up in time for school. Mother and boy were living on \$7 a week sister on stage was sending and boy went without food for long periods of time. Attendance officer and probation officer visited very often and mother was drunk and talkative almost every night. Mother and Vincent sleeping in same bed. Principal reported that Vincent's marks were good though he had too many absences. Fairly well clothed. Mother denied excessive drinking. Vincent asleep in bed in which mother also slept. Mother said that he had a cold. Agent warned mother to stop drinking and have Vincent sleep in own room and stop selling papers late at night. Mother acted rather eccentrically. Later landlady reported and statements were corroborated by roomers that mother was drinking every night. Mother was abusive at times and said that she feared she was losing her mind because of loneliness. Later mother was discovered dressed but in bed. Had bad cough and cold and thought her lungs were affected. Boy was going to school regularly and no late night work anymore. Mother had been washing dishes for the past week. Cot on which Vincent slept didn't look as if it were being used. Room was clean. In April probation officer was looking for mother and landlady reported that mother was put out because of drinking. Mother was getting a little money from daughter. Nephew coming to home and found mother drunk. Boy had little to eat. Mother wanted boy to work and support her when he is fourteen years old. Mother not working. Later



presented. Boy and mother were living in one room and slept together.

Question of mother's morals.

In March of 1937 GAA reported another complaint against

Vincent as neglected and out till one a.m. selling papers. Later landlady

reported Mother and Vincent moved owing \$25.00 rent. Vincent was badly

neglected, and was out every night till one or two a.m. selling papers.

Difficult for him to get up in time for school. Mother and boy were living

on \$7 a week after on stage was winding and boy went without food for long

periods of time. Attendance officer and probation officer visited very

often and mother was drunk and talkative almost every night. Mother and

Vincent sleeping in same bed. Principal reported that Vincent's marks were

good though he had too many absences. Fairly well clothed. Mother denied

excessive drinking. Vincent asleep in bed in which mother also slept.

Mother said that he had a cold. Agent warned mother to stop drinking and

have Vincent sleep in own room and stop selling papers late at night.

Mother acted rather eccentrically. Later landlady reported and statements

were corroborated by roomers that mother was drinking every night. Mother

was abusive at times and said that she feared she was losing her mind be-

cause of loneliness. Later mother was discovered dressed but in bed. Had

bad cough and cold and thought her lungs were affected. Boy was going to

school regularly and no late night work anymore. Mother had been washing

dishes for the past week. Got on which Vincent slept didn't look as if it

were being used. Room was clean. In April probation officer was looking

for mother and landlady reported that mother was put out because of drinking

Mother was getting a little money from daughter. Nowhere coming to home and

found mother drunk. Boy had little to eat. Mother wanted boy to work and

support her when he is fourteen years old. Mother not working. Later



probation officer reported mother was surrendered to the Parole Department and on way back to the State Farm at Bridgewater. Vincent was in home with boarder. Later landlady reported Ethel took Vincent and all their belongings. Principal reported that Vincent was with married sister Ethel. Sister reported she was caring for Vincent. Mother was at the State Farm for four months. Sister had one large room, and rented one for Vincent, who wasn't selling papers now. Room was clean. Sister made a good impression. Vera was sending money regularly. Ethel said Vincent could remain as long as he liked. Sister said that she didn't get along well with mother. Landlady reported that Vincent was being given excellent care. Neither sister nor husband drinking people.

The OPW sent a notice of relief to mother and Vincent in July of 1932 to the State Temporary Aid Division. In August Vera was reported unemployed and Vincent had not been working for eight months. Had previously worked for a leather company. Mother and boy were still sleeping in same bed. Mother was nervous. In May of 1934 family left previous address and OPW gave last aid in April of 1934 and case was closed with the State Temporary Aid Division.

The OPW reported family moved to New York. Vincent was at a CCC at Plymouth, Mass. Was never arrested. Previous to this time, March of 1934, he had been working in restaurants. Vera was in New York City. Mother was living in room at \$4 a week. In July of 1934 Vincent was again unemployed and Vera had been sending no money to mother for last two years. When at the CCC, Vincent sent \$25 a month to mother. Mother had arthritis. Ethel at this time was a widow and was also receiving OPW aid. Mother had not been drinking for last two years since Vincent threatened to leave her if she did. Vincent was to work for the aid to be received and showed very



probation officer reported mother was surrendered to the Parole Department and on way back to the State Farm at Bridgewater. Vincent was in home with brother. Later landlady reported Ethel took Vincent and all their belongings. Principal reported that Vincent was with married sister Ethel. Sister reported she was caring for Vincent. Mother was at the State Farm for four months. Sister had one large room, and rented one for Vincent, who wasn't selling papers now. Room was clean. Sister made a good impression. Vera was sending money regularly. Ethel said Vincent could remain as long as he liked. Sister said that she didn't get along well with mother. Landlady reported that Vincent was being given excellent care. Neither sister nor husband drinking people.

The OPW sent a notice of relief to mother and Vincent in July of 1933 to the State Temporary Aid Division. In August Vera was reported unemployed and Vincent had not been working for eight months. Ethel previously worked for a leather company. Mother and boy were still sleeping in same bed. Mother was nervous. In May of 1934 family left previous address and OPW gave last aid in April of 1934 and case was closed with the State Temporary Aid Division.

The OPW reported family moved to New York. Vincent was at a CCC at Plymouth, Mass. Was never arrested. Previous to this time, March of 1934, he had been working in restaurants. Vera was in New York City. Mother was living in room at \$4 a week. In July of 1934 Vincent was again unemployed and Vera had been sending no money to mother for last two years. When at the CCC, Vincent sent \$25 a month to mother. Mother had arthritis. Ethel at this time was a widow and was also receiving OPW aid. Mother had not been drinking for last two years since Vincent threatened to leave her if she did. Vincent was to work for the aid to be received and showed very



healthy attitude towards life. Mother had no record from 2-13-32 until 11-6-34 when she was arrested for drunkenness and was put on probation till May 8, 1935.

In this case we have a child brought up by an alcoholic and almost immoral mother who despite his environment with a little help from social agencies has made a good adjustment and is still the main moral support for the continued abstinence of his mother. His mother still subsides to the desire for alcohol every now and then, but Vincent by his attitude towards this habit encourages her to improve herself.

Society and in the writer's follow-up studies in these cases almost none have previous to the time this study was made. It is quite evident from even a casual examination of the case histories presented that the situations encountered were very serious social-misadjustments which involved the maladjustment of both parents and children to the environment in which they lived, and to each other. The families ranged in their economic standing from the very poorest to well-fixed middle class business families and from the social standpoint, from families from the so-called fringe of society to those with good social background and even traditions. Essentially all the cases included in this study represent failures in that most important social device, the family. These failures either were in the form of more or less serious maladjustments in the relations of the parents to each other or to the children in the family.

The Society was called in each of the cases studied by someone other than a member or employee of the Society, and the complaints as a whole were such as understood at least vaguely the function of the Society in removing children from situations of neglect of any sort, or



healthy attitude towards life. Mother had no record from 2-12-33 until 11-8-34 when she was arrested for drunkenness and was put on probation till May 8, 1935.

In this case we have a child brought up by an alcoholic and almost immoral mother who despite his environment with a little help from social agencies has made a good adjustment and is still the main moral support for the continued abstinence of his mother. His mother still adheres to the desire for alcohol every now and then, but Vincent by his attitude towards this habit encourages her to improve herself.



## CHAPTER III

CRITICAL SUMMARIES

## Tabulations and conclusions

In the preceding chapter the writer has given detailed case summaries in order to give the reader an idea of what the cases studied were about, what types of situations were encountered by the agents of the Society in their work with the families in question, how they went about meeting the situations encountered, how the families reacted, and what were the end results of treatment as shown in the case histories of the Society and in the writer's follow-up studies on those cases closed some time previous to the time this study was made. It is quite evident from even a casual examination of the case histories presented that the situations encountered were very serious social-mixups which involved the maladjustment of both parents and children to the environment in which they lived, and to each other. The families ranged in their economic standing from the very poorest to well-fixed middle class business families and from the social standpoint, from families from the so-called dregs of society to those with good social background and even traditions. Essentially all the cases included in this study represent failures in that most important social device, the family. These failures either were in the form of more or less serious maladjustments in the relations of the parents to each other or to the children in the family.

The Society was called in each of the cases studied by someone other than a member or employee of the Society, and the complainants as a whole were such as understood at least vaguely the function of the Society in rescuing children from situations of neglect of any sort, or



CRITICAL SUMMARIES

## Tabulations and conclusions

In the preceding chapter the writer has given detailed case summaries in order to give the reader an idea of what the cases studied were about, what types of situations were encountered by the agents of the Society in their work with the families in question, how they went about meeting the situations encountered, how the families reacted, and what were the end results of treatment as shown in the case histories of the Society and in the writer's follow-up studies on those cases closed some time previous to the time this study was made. It is quite evident from even a casual examination of the case histories presented that the situations encountered were very serious social-always which involved the maladjustment of both parents and children to the environment in which they lived, and to each other. The families ranged in their economic standing from the very poorest to well-fixed middle class business families and from the social standpoint, from families from the so-called dregs of society to those with good social backgrounds and even traditions. Essentially all the cases included in this study represent failures in that most important social device, the family. These failures either were in the form of more or less serious maladjustments in the relations of the parents to each other or to the children in the family.

The Society was called in each of the cases studied by someone other than a member or employee of the Society, and the complaints as a whole were much as understood at least vaguely the function of the Society in rescuing children from situations of neglect of any sort, or



from situations where children were not being properly controlled and trained. All the cases involved neglect in one form or another of the minor children in the families. Also all the cases were of such nature that despite the efforts of the Society to adjust the situation by means of social work methods, they all proved at the time of referral to be unamenable to social treatment and the situations were all serious enough to demand action through the courts because the parents were either unable to remedy the situation of neglect of their children, or as in most cases neither wanted to nor saw the reason for action towards remedying the situation complained of.

The cases studied involved the removal of seventy-six children up to seventeen years of age(see table I, page 209). Of this number forty-two(c.55%) were girls and thirty-four(c.45%) were boys. Of these fifty-nine(or about 79%) were pre-adolescent or under twelve years of age and largely presented few if any problems of that particular age period. Only twenty(c.26%) were infants and in particular danger because of their neglected situation since they were at an age when they were entirely helpless and had to be removed to prevent permanent injury or even death because of malnutrition, and improper and inadequate hygienic conditions. Seventeen of these children had reached the chronological age period when they should have entered the period of adolescence and the main dangers inherent in the conditions of neglect in which they were found to be living were inadequate supervision and training, and contacts with human beings who were either bad examples for them because of intemperance or immorality, or were direct evil influences on them and endangered them physically and morally by their conduct and actions towards these adolescents.



from situations where children were not being properly controlled and trained. All the cases involved neglect in one form or another of the minor children in the families. Also all the cases were of such nature that despite the efforts of the Society to adjust the situation by means of social work methods, they all proved at the time of referral to be unable to social treatment and the situations were all serious enough to demand action through the courts because the parents were either unable to remedy the situation of neglect of their children, or as in most cases neither wanted to nor saw the reason for action towards remedying the situation complained of.

The cases studied involved the removal of seventy-six children up to seventeen years of age (see table I, page 208). Of this number forty-two (c. 53%) were girls and thirty-four (c. 45%) were boys. Of these fifty-nine (or about 73%) were pre-adolescent or under twelve years of age and largely presented few if any problems of that particular age period. Only twenty (c. 26%) were infants and in particular danger because of their neglected situation since they were at an age when they were extremely helpless and had to be removed to prevent permanent injury or even death because of malnutrition, and improper and inadequate hygienic conditions. Seventeen of these children had reached the chronological age period when they should have entered the period of adolescence and the main dangers inherent in the conditions of neglect in which they were found to be living were inadequate supervision and training, and contacts with human beings who were either bad examples for them because of immorality or immorality, or were direct evil influences on them and endangered them physically and morally by their conduct and actions towards these adolescents.



The parents of the children studied were notable in one respect, namely that all the records investigated indicated that in each case, both parents were of the same religious faith or of such closely allied faiths as to eliminate the possibility of conflict over the question of religious beliefs and practices. None of the parents studied were without religious beliefs and practices of one sort or another. This of course does not mean that they all lived up to their faiths, but at least kept their connections unsevered with their churches. Table II, on page 210 indicates that the children in this research were predominantly Roman Catholic by birth and by faith(sixty-three or c.83%). This was not so because the records studied were chosen with any specific purpose in mind, and represents the actual situation as revealed in a sample of the case records of a certain year(1927). This also is probably in keeping with the fact that the Roman Catholics in and around Boston make up a large majority of the actual population, about 70% according to recent census data. Ten of the children were Protestant by birth and by faith and represented about 13% of the group studied. Three (c.4%) were Greek or Russian Orthodox by birth and by faith. The faith of the children was determined according to the religious affiliations of the father in the family and only in the case of one boy was this not so. This boy became a Roman Catholic, despite the fact that his parents were Protestant, because he preferred the former faith and insisted on attending the Catholic Church in his neighborhood. He was accordingly baptized and confirmed therein. This boy later had some conflicts because he felt that his parents discriminated against him because of his change of faith, but as he grew older this conflict was straightened out with the help of a social agency.



The parents of the children studied were Catholic in one respect, namely that all the records investigated indicated that in each case, both parents were of the same religious faith or of such closely allied faiths as to eliminate the possibility of conflict over the question of religious beliefs and practices. None of the parents studied were without religious beliefs and practices of one sort or another. This of course does not mean that they all lived up to their faith, but at least kept their connections unbroken with their churches. Table II, on page 210 indicates that the children in this research were predominantly Roman Catholic by birth and by faith (sixty-three or 83%). This was not so because the records studied were chosen with any specific purpose in mind, and represents the actual situation as revealed in a sample of the case records of a certain year (1937). This also is probably in keeping with the fact that the Roman Catholics in and around Boston make up a large majority of the actual population, about 70% according to recent census data. Ten of the children were Protestant by birth and by faith and represented about 13% of the group studied. Three (3.4%) were Greek or Russian Orthodox by birth and by faith. The faith of the children was determined according to the religious affiliations of the father in the family and only in the case of one boy was this not so. This boy became a Roman Catholic, despite the fact that his parents were Protestant, because he preferred the former faith and insisted on attending the Catholic Church in his neighborhood. He was accordingly baptized and confirmed therein. This boy later had some conflicts because he felt that his parents discriminated against him because of his change of faith, but as he grew older this conflict was strengthened out with the help of a social agency.



TABLE I

## AGE, SEX AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN REMOVED BY COURT ORDER

AGE	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
0-5 years	8	12	20
5-10 years	15	13	28
10-12 years	4	7	11
12-15 years	7	6	13
15-17 years	0	4	4
TOTALS	34	42	76



TABLE I

AGE, SEX AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN REMOVED BY COURT ORDER

AGE	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
0-2 years	8	12	20
3-10 years	12	12	24
10-12 years	4	7	11
12-15 years	7	6	13
15-17 years	0	4	4
TOTALS	24	42	66







TABLE II

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS \* OF CHILDREN REMOVED BY COURT ORDER

ROMAN CATHOLIC	PROTESTANT	GREEN, RUSSIAN, ORTHODOX	TOTAL
63	10	3	76

\* According to father's religious affiliations.

† In none of the families studied was there any particularly distinct cleavage in the religious practices of the parents.



The removal of the children studied was necessitated by many varying situations which were contributing to their neglect and upbringing without salutary control. Each situation had different factors which brought about the condition of neglect because of the fact that every family has its own particular customs, traditions, rituals, and standards of living. However it would be impossible to correlate the causes leading to neglect if each situation were considered separately. The writer has therefore grouped all conditions leading to the neglect of the material needs of the children, such as lack of food or improper food, lack of clothing or improper clothing, lack of adequate shelter, physical abuse, under the general heading of "physical neglect". Situations involving the contact of children with immoral, degenerate, intemperate, defective, and delinquent people and situations were all grouped under the general heading of "moral neglect". Table III, on page 212 contains the statistical analysis of the factors leading to the removal of the children studied. It contains both of the above classifications and three others. A surprisingly large percentage (57 or about 76%) of children were found to lack one or both parents for such reasons as death, institutionalization, hospitalization, desertion, non-support, separation, divorce, etc. This is very interesting since it seems to bear out with this group at least that the so-called broken home situation is a very fertile cause for the neglect of children. In these cases this was found to be true because of lack of one or both parents led to improper physical care of children either through the lack of a mother, or because the mother was working, or because the mother or father found it impossible to adjust to the family situation without the presence and cooperation of the marriage partner, or because of immorality of the stranded marriage partner and consequent neglect of the children. Also the



The removal of the children studied was necessitated by many varying situations which were contributing to their neglect and up-bringing without adequate control. Each situation had different factors which brought about the condition of neglect because of the fact that every family has its own particular customs, traditions, rituals, and standards of living. However it would be impossible to correlate the causes leading to neglect if each situation were considered separately. The writer has therefore grouped all conditions leading to the neglect of the material needs of the children, such as lack of food or improper food, lack of clothing or improper clothing, lack of adequate shelter, physical abuse, under the general heading of "physical neglect". Situations involving the contact of children with immoral, degenerate, intemperate, defective, and delinquent people and situations were all grouped under the general heading of "moral neglect". Table III, on page 212 contains the statistical analysis of the factors leading to the removal of the children studied. It contains both of the above classifications and three others. A surprisingly large percentage (57 or about 70%) of children were found to lack one or both parents for such reasons as death, institutionalization, hospitalization, desertion, non-support, separation, divorce, etc. This is very interesting since it seems to bear out with this group at least that the so-called broken home situation is a very fertile cause for the neglect of children. In these cases this was found to be true because of lack of one or both parents leading to improper physical care of children either through the lack of a mother, or because the mother was working, or because the mother or father found it impossible to adjust to the family situation without the presence and cooperation of the marriage partner, or because of immorality of the extended marriage partner and consequent neglect of the children. Also the



TABLE III

FACTORS LEADING TO THE REMOVAL OF CHILDREN BY COURT ORDER(BY CHILDREN)\*

NEGLECT		LACK OF ONE OR BOTH PARENTS THROUGH:	
PHYSICAL	MORAL	DEATH, INSTITUTIONALIZATION,	DELINQUENCY OF
:	:	HOSPITALIZATION, DESERTION, NON-	CHILDREN
:	:	SUPPORT, SEPARATION, ETC.	:
70	56	57	7

\*SOME overlapping where children removed for more than one of above factors.

TABLE IIIA

INTEMPERANCE OF ONE OR BOTH PARENTS(BY CASES)

ONE PARENT	BOTH PARENTS	TOTAL
6	7	13



TABLE III

FACTORS LEADING TO THE REMOVAL OF CHILDREN BY COURT ORDER (BY CATEGORY)\*

FACTORS LEADING TO THE REMOVAL OF CHILDREN BY COURT ORDER (BY CATEGORY)*	NEGLIGENCE	PHYSICAL : MORAL	LACK OF ONE OR BOTH PARENTS THROUGH	DEATH, INSTITUTIONALIZATION, HOSTILITY, DESERTION, NON-SUPPORT, SEPARATION, ETC.	RELIQUANCE OF CHILDREN
1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4	4
5	5	5	5	5	5
6	6	6	6	6	6
7	7	7	7	7	7
8	8	8	8	8	8
9	9	9	9	9	9
10	10	10	10	10	10
11	11	11	11	11	11
12	12	12	12	12	12
13	13	13	13	13	13
14	14	14	14	14	14
15	15	15	15	15	15
16	16	16	16	16	16
17	17	17	17	17	17
18	18	18	18	18	18
19	19	19	19	19	19
20	20	20	20	20	20
21	21	21	21	21	21
22	22	22	22	22	22
23	23	23	23	23	23
24	24	24	24	24	24
25	25	25	25	25	25
26	26	26	26	26	26
27	27	27	27	27	27
28	28	28	28	28	28
29	29	29	29	29	29
30	30	30	30	30	30
31	31	31	31	31	31
32	32	32	32	32	32
33	33	33	33	33	33
34	34	34	34	34	34
35	35	35	35	35	35
36	36	36	36	36	36
37	37	37	37	37	37
38	38	38	38	38	38
39	39	39	39	39	39
40	40	40	40	40	40
41	41	41	41	41	41
42	42	42	42	42	42
43	43	43	43	43	43
44	44	44	44	44	44
45	45	45	45	45	45
46	46	46	46	46	46
47	47	47	47	47	47
48	48	48	48	48	48
49	49	49	49	49	49
50	50	50	50	50	50
51	51	51	51	51	51
52	52	52	52	52	52
53	53	53	53	53	53
54	54	54	54	54	54
55	55	55	55	55	55
56	56	56	56	56	56
57	57	57	57	57	57
58	58	58	58	58	58
59	59	59	59	59	59
60	60	60	60	60	60
61	61	61	61	61	61
62	62	62	62	62	62
63	63	63	63	63	63
64	64	64	64	64	64
65	65	65	65	65	65
66	66	66	66	66	66
67	67	67	67	67	67
68	68	68	68	68	68
69	69	69	69	69	69
70	70	70	70	70	70
71	71	71	71	71	71
72	72	72	72	72	72
73	73	73	73	73	73
74	74	74	74	74	74
75	75	75	75	75	75
76	76	76	76	76	76
77	77	77	77	77	77
78	78	78	78	78	78
79	79	79	79	79	79
80	80	80	80	80	80
81	81	81	81	81	81
82	82	82	82	82	82
83	83	83	83	83	83
84	84	84	84	84	84
85	85	85	85	85	85
86	86	86	86	86	86
87	87	87	87	87	87
88	88	88	88	88	88
89	89	89	89	89	89
90	90	90	90	90	90
91	91	91	91	91	91
92	92	92	92	92	92
93	93	93	93	93	93
94	94	94	94	94	94
95	95	95	95	95	95
96	96	96	96	96	96
97	97	97	97	97	97
98	98	98	98	98	98
99	99	99	99	99	99
100	100	100	100	100	100

\*SOME overlapping where children removed for more than one of above factors.

TABLE IIIA

INTERFERENCE OF ONE OR BOTH PARENTS (BY CASES)

INTERFERENCE OF ONE OR BOTH PARENTS (BY CASES)	ONE PARENT	BOTH PARENTS	TOTAL
1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4
5	5	5	5
6	6	6	6
7	7	7	7
8	8	8	8
9	9	9	9
10	10	10	10
11	11	11	11
12	12	12	12
13	13	13	13
14	14	14	14
15	15	15	15
16	16	16	16
17	17	17	17
18	18	18	18
19	19	19	19
20	20	20	20
21	21	21	21
22	22	22	22
23	23	23	23
24	24	24	24
25	25	25	25
26	26	26	26
27	27	27	27
28	28	28	28
29	29	29	29
30	30	30	30
31	31	31	31
32	32	32	32
33	33	33	33
34	34	34	34
35	35	35	35
36	36	36	36
37	37	37	37
38	38	38	38
39	39	39	39
40	40	40	40
41	41	41	41
42	42	42	42
43	43	43	43
44	44	44	44
45	45	45	45
46	46	46	46
47	47	47	47
48	48	48	48
49	49	49	49
50	50	50	50
51	51	51	51
52	52	52	52
53	53	53	53
54	54	54	54
55	55	55	55
56	56	56	56
57	57	57	57
58	58	58	58
59	59	59	59
60	60	60	60
61	61	61	61
62	62	62	62
63	63	63	63
64	64	64	64
65	65	65	65
66	66	66	66
67	67	67	67
68	68	68	68
69	69	69	69
70	70	70	70
71	71	71	71
72	72	72	72
73	73	73	73
74	74	74	74
75	75	75	75
76	76	76	76
77	77	77	77
78	78	78	78
79	79	79	79
80	80	80	80
81	81	81	81
82	82	82	82
83	83	83	83
84	84	84	84
85	85	85	85
86	86	86	86
87	87	87	87
88	88	88	88
89	89	89	89
90	90	90	90
91	91	91	91
92	92	92	92
93	93	93	93
94	94	94	94
95	95	95	95
96	96	96	96
97	97	97	97
98	98	98	98
99	99	99	99
100	100	100	100



broken home situations in this study led to moral neglect of the children because of the latter cause, and because the presence of strangers in the home often led to direct moral abuse of children or to setting up of unhealthy examples to the children who had to come into contact with them. Also step-parent situations played their role in making the broken home situations in these cases fertile causes for neglect or abuse of minor children. Table III. also reveals that of the seventy-six children involved in the removals only seven, or about 9% were delinquent and thus contributed to the necessity of removing them to a more adequately supervised situation for this purpose. Table IIIA reveals the third very interesting fact, viz., that of the twenty-five cases studied thirteen or 52% involved intemperance of one or both parents as a factor leading to the removal of the minor children in the family, and of these six or 24% of the cases involved the intemperance of one of the parents, and seven or 28% involved the intemperance of both parents. Of course these various factors were largely found to exist together in the same situations since one factor easily led to the creation of the other. For example, situations involving the lack of one parent often lead to economic stress because of absence of source of income, or because the absence of the manager of the family expenditures led to more expensive cost of living, which might lead to discouragement of the stranded partner, and perhaps intemperance or immorality or delinquency or all might follow as the final result of the unhappy situation; and all this of course would lead to the neglect of the minor children in the family. This hypothetical situation is cited as an illustration of what did happen in modified forms in many of the broken-home situations studied, and to illustrate the fact that the obvious factor alone is usually not the ultimate cause of the neglect of the children but is usually the tail end of a



broken home situations in this study led to moral neglect of the children because of the latter cause, and because the presence of strangers in the home often led to direct moral abuse of children or to setting up of unhealthy examples to the children who had to come into contact with them. Also step-parent situations played their role in making the broken home situations in these cases fertile causes for neglect or abuse of minor children. Table III also reveals that of the seventy-six children involved in the removals only seven, or about 12% were delinquent and time contributed to the necessity of removing them to a more adequately supervised situation for this purpose. Table IIIA reveals the third very interesting fact, viz., that of the twenty-five cases studied thirteen or 52% involved interferences of one or both parents as a factor leading to the removal of the minor children in the family, and of these six or 46% of the cases involved the interference of one of the parents, and seven or 28% involved the interference of both parents. Of course these various factors were largely found to exist together in the same situations since one factor easily led to the creation of the other. For example, situations involving the lack of one parent often lead to economic stress because of absence of source of income, or because the absence of the manager of the family expenditures led to more expensive cost of living, which might lead to discouragement of the abandoned partner, and perhaps interference or immaturity or delinquency or all might follow as the final result of the unhappy situation; and all this of course would lead to the neglect of the minor children in the family. This hypothetical situation is cited as an illustration of what did happen in modified forms in many of the broken-home situations studied, and to illustrate the fact that the obvious factor alone is usually not the real cause of the neglect of the children but is usually the tail end of a



long series of factors which added together make the situation so intolerable for the minor children as to necessitate the intervention of the Society in their behalf.

In practically all of the cases, the parents or guardians of the children made attempts to have, the children removed, returned as quickly as possible. This was probably true largely because of natural affection existing in the most abusive and neglectful of parents or because of feeling of ownership of the children and chagrin at being deprived of one's own property. Table IV on page 215 indicates that of all 76 of the children removed sixty-eight(almost 90%) were returned between one and four times each. Forty-nine (almost 65%) were removed once and forty-eight were returned once and permanently, the one not returned having been committed to the Institutions Department permanently. Twenty-one(c.28%) were removed two times from their homes but only fifteen of these were returned both times, six having been removed permanently. Five were removed three different times and four of these were returned three times. One was removed four times and returned four times. Of the seventy-six children removed from their homes sixty-eight or almost 90% were returned permanently after adjustment of some sort had been made. Eight(or almost ten percent) were technically removed permanently either because the home was finally found to be unadjustable, or because the home was entirely disbanded because of the death, separation, institutionalization, hospitalization, etc. of parents, step-parents, or guardians. Of the seventy-six removed, three(c.4%) of the children died during one of the periods of removal. In all three cases the children died of sickness which ultimately came as a result of the debilitating period of neglect in the home(see table IVA.).



long series of factors which added together make the situation so intolerable for the minor children as to necessitate the intervention of the Society in their behalf.

In practically all of the cases, the parents or guardians

of the children made attempts to have the children removed, returned as

quickly as possible. This was probably true largely because of natural

affection existing in the most abusive and neglectful of parents or because

of feeling of ownership of the children and chagrin at being deprived of

one's own property. Table IV on page 218 indicates that of all 78 of the

children removed sixty-eight (almost 90%) were returned between one and four

times each. Forty-nine (almost 63%) were removed once and forty-eight were

returned once and permanently, the one not returned having been committed to

the Institutions Department permanently. Twenty-one (c. 27%) were removed

two times from their homes but only fifteen of these were returned both

times, six having been removed permanently. Five were removed three differ-

ent times and four of these were returned three times. One was removed

four times and returned four times. Of the seventy-six children removed

from their homes sixty-eight or almost 90% were returned permanently after

adjustment of some sort had been made. Eight (or almost ten percent) were

technically removed permanently either because the home was finally found

to be unsatisfactory, or because the home was entirely disbanded because of

the death, degeneration, institutionalization, hospitalization, etc. of per-

ents, step-parents, or guardians. Of the seventy-six removed, three (c. 4%) of

the children died during one of the periods of removal. In all three cases

the children died of sickness which ultimately came as a result of the

prolonging period of neglect in the home (see table IVA.).



TABLE IV

NUMBER OF TIMES REMOVED AND RETURNED BY COURT ORDER\*

NUMBER OF TIMES	REMOVED	RETURNED	REMOVED PERMANENTLY (TECHNICALLY)	RETURNED PERMANENTLY
1	49	48	8	68
2	21	15		
3	5	4		
4	1	1		
TOTALS	76	68	8	68

\*As handled through the M.S.P.C.C.

TABLE IV.A

NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHO DIED:
DURING REMOVAL PERIOD

3



TABLE IV

NUMBER OF TIMES REMOVED AND RETURNED BY COURT ORDER\*

NUMBER OF TIMES	REMOVED	RETURNED	REMOVED PERMANENTLY (TECHNICALLY)	RETURNED PERMANENTLY
1	43	48	8	88
2	21	13		
3	5	4		
4	1	1		
TOTALS	78	68	8	88

\*As handled through the M.S.F.C.C.

TABLE IV.A

NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHO DIED DURING REMOVAL PERIOD
3



The children studied herein were removed for varying lengths of time ranging all the way from a few days to periods of time exceeding ten years. Some situations were so affected by the threat of removal that the parents immediately began to reorganize the detrimental home situation for the benefit of the children because they feared and disliked the thought of having their children removed from them with consequent loss of affection, companionship, and even prestige as being a failure at the job of parenthood. Table V., on page 217 consequently indicates that twenty (c.29%) of the sixty-eight children finally returned permanently were removed for a period of less than six months before their situation was so much improved that they could be returned to their homes with reasonable assurance of their well-being; however with continued supervision for some period of time following, in most cases. This fact of the effectiveness of removal technique is further indicated in Table IV. by the fact that of seventy-six children removed in forty-nine of the cases where children were removed only once, forty-eight or about 64% of the children did not have to be removed again after having once been removed and returned. Twelve (c.18%) of the sixty-eight children eventually returned were removed for periods of time of six months to one year. Sixteen or about 24% were removed for periods of time of from one to five years each. These represented the more difficult situations which were not so amenable to treatment programs or to the fear of loss of custody of their children. Fifteen or about 22% were removed for periods of time ranging from five to ten years and represented the still more difficult cases. Five children or about 7% were removed for more than ten years. We see in this group of children the value of having the removal period flexible, until the child is no longer considered a minor, in the fact that different children and different cases



The children studied herein were removed for varying lengths of time ranging all the way from a few days to periods of time exceeding ten years. Some situations were so affected by the threat of removal that the parents immediately began to reorganize the detrimental home situation for the benefit of the children because they feared and disliked the thought of having their children removed from them with consequent loss of affection, companionship, and even prestige as being a failure as the job of parenthood. Table V., on page XIV consequently indicates that twenty (c.28%) of the sixty-eight children finally returned permanently were removed for a period of less than six months before their situation was so much improved that they could be returned to their homes with reasonable assurance of their well-being; however with continued supervision for some period of time following, in most cases. This fact of the effectiveness of removal technique is further indicated in Table IV. by the fact that of seventy-six children removed in forty-nine of the cases where children were removed only once, forty-eight or about 64% of the children did not have to be removed again after having once been removed and returned. Twelve (c.18%) of the sixty-eight children eventually returned were removed for periods of time of six months to one year. Sixteen or about 24% were removed for periods of time of from one to five years each. These represented the more difficult situations which were not so amenable to treatment programs or to the fear of loss of custody of their children. Fifteen or about 22% were removed for periods of time ranging from five to ten years and represented the still more difficult cases. Five children or about 7% were removed for more than ten years. We see in this group of children the value of having the removal period flexible, until the child is no longer considered a minor, in the fact that different children and different cases



TABLE V

## LENGTH OF TIME CHILDREN REMOVED BY COURT ORDER (BY CHILDREN)\*

LESS THAN SIX MONTHS	20	5 - 6 years	3
6 months to one year	12	6 - 7 years	8
1 - 2 years	2	7 - 8 years	0
2 - 3 years	6	8 - 9 years	2
3 - 4 years	5	9 - 10 years	2
4 - 5 years	3	more than 10 years	5
TOTAL			68

\* Does not include permanent removals, and is recorded as sum of all removals for each child.



TABLE V

LENGTH OF TIME CHILDREN REMOVED BY COURT ORDER (BY CHILDREN)\*

LESS THAN SIX MONTHS	20	5 - 6 years	3
6 months to one year	13	6 - 7 years	8
1 - 2 years	3	7 - 8 years	0
2 - 3 years	6	8 - 9 years	3
3 - 4 years	5	9 - 10 years	3
4 - 5 years	3	more than 10 years	3
TOTAL			68

\*Does not include permanent removals, and is recorded as

sum of all removals for each child.



require different periods of time in which to adjust their situations because of varying factors in the home situations, and even in individual situations of siblings, in the various cases studied.

The cases studied involved a sizable amount of court work and it is interesting to know just how much time was involved in the legal work. When one thinks of the expenses themselves, one sees that it is not possible to compute them because no case is given a specified amount of time in the courts and so many cases are treated every day. The writer however after much consideration of the problem thought that an effective means of giving some indication of the legal work involved in these cases would be a tabulation of the number of continuances involved in the treatment program for each of these cases. Each continuance involved the gathering of more data by agents of the Society, other agencies interested in the case, the police if they were involved, and any probation officers involved in the cases as well as the schools and witnesses for the Society in the cases. According to Table VI. on page 219 there were cases with as few as one continuance and one with as many as forty-three continuances. The twenty-five cases studied when considered together had 319 continuances, and 247 of these were held for twelve of the 25 cases that had over twelve continuances each. These figures given in Table VI are given for the purpose of demonstrating how expensive families become to society when they are allowed to disintegrate because of inadequate environment or to be headed by inadequate parents, and how much attention and bother society is willing to take in order to prevent its children from becoming permanent community liabilities and propagators of more liabilities for the future communities.



communities.

community liabilities and propagators of more liabilities for the future

willing to take in order to prevent the children from becoming permanent

needed by inadequate parents, and how much attention and better society is

are allowed to disintegrate because of inadequate environment or to be

pose of demonstrating how expansive families become to society when they

continuances each. These figures given in Table VI are given for the pur-

and 247 of these were held for twelve of the 28 cases that had over twelve

twenty-five cases studied when considered together had 319 continuances.

one continuance and one with as many as forty-three continuances. The

cases. According to Table VI, on page 219 there were cases with as few as

in the cases as well as the schools and witnesses for the Society in the

case, the police if they were involved, and any probation officers involved

ing of more data by agents of the Society, other agencies interested in the

ment program for each of these cases. Each continuance involved the father-

would be a tabulation of the number of continuances involved in the treat-

means of giving some indication of the legal work involved in these cases

ever after much consideration of the problem thought that an effective

time in the courts and so many cases are treated every day. The writer how-

possible to compute then because no case is given a specified amount of

work. When one thinks of the expenses themselves, one sees that it is not

and it is interesting to know just how much time was involved in the legal

The cases studied involved a sizable amount of court work

situations of siblings, in the various cases studied.

causes of varying factors in the home situations, and even in individual

require different periods of time in which to adjust their situations be-



TABLE VI

## NUMBER OF CONTINUANCES IN CASES STUDIED

NUMBER OF CONTINUANCES X CASES = TOTAL				NUMBER OF CONTINUANCES X CASES = TOTAL			
1	2	2	7	0	0		
2	0	0	8	0	0		
3	3	9	9	2	18		
4	0	0	10	2	20		
5	1	5	11	0	0		
6	3	18	12 or more	2(13), 3(18), 1(12), 1(31), 1(19), 1(43), 1(15), 1(26), 1(21)*	247		
TOTAL	-	34	TOTAL	-	285		

GRAND TOTAL = 319(for 25 cases)

\* number in parenthesis equals continuances, number outside  
equal number of cases







As was seen in Table IV sixty-eight of the seventy-six children removed by court order were finally returned permanently. Of these many were removed more than once, viz., 27, and of these only 20 were finally returned permanently. Table VII. on page 221 gives the length of time during which 26 of these 27 children removed more than once from their homes were returned between removals. One of the children not included in the table was excluded because she was removed permanently and never returned; though not technically removed permanently by court order, still she remained in her foster home without returning home for any length of time. One child was returned for less than three months before subsequent removal whereas another was returned for almost eight years before another removal had to take place for the safety of the child. Six of the twenty-six children studied in the table were returned for less than one year before they had to be removed again since the situation had once again grown unsafe for their welfare. Eleven were able to remain in their homes for from one to two years before they had to be removed again. Five stayed at home from two to four years, three from five to six years, and one from seven to eight years. This table reveals that for the majority of children removed more than once the situation was sufficiently remedied to enable the children to remain in their homes for more than one year, but that this was not an indication of permanent adjustment as follow-up studies and further complaints revealed necessity for further action since the parents had not yet learned their lesson. The writer believes that these facts and figures indicate the necessity for follow-up work after the children are returned to a home apparently adjusted enough to have the children returned, but not stable enough to continue to be adjusted without further supervision and outside help and guidance.



As was seen in Table IV sixty-eight of the seventy-six

children removed by court order were finally returned permanently. Of

these many were removed more than once, viz., 37, and of these only 20 were

finally returned permanently. Table VII, on page 321 gives the length of

time during which 26 of these 37 children removed more than once from their

homes were returned between removals. One of the children not included in

the table was excluded because she was removed permanently and never re-

turned; though not technically removed permanently by court order, still she

remained in her foster home without returning home for any length of time.

One child was returned for less than three months before subsequent removal

whereas another was returned for almost eight years before another removal

had to take place for the safety of the child. Six of the twenty-six chil-

dren studied in the table were returned for less than one year before they

had to be removed again since the situation had once again grown unsafe for

their welfare. Eleven were able to remain in their homes for from one to

two years before they had to be removed again. Five stayed at home from two

to four years, three from five to six years, and one from seven to eight

years. This table reveals that for the majority of children removed more

than once the situation was sufficiently remedied to enable the children to

remain in their homes for more than one year, but that this was not an in-

dications of permanent adjustment as follow-up studies and further complaints

revealed necessity for further action since the parents had not yet learned

their lesson. The writer believes that these facts and figures indicate the

necessity for follow-up work after the children are returned to a home appar-

ently adjusted enough to have the children returned, but not stable enough

to continue to be adjusted without further supervision and outside help and

guidance.



TABLE VII

## LENGTH OF TIME CHILDREN RETURNED \* #

TIME	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	TIME	NUMBER OF CHILDREN
0 - 3 months	1	5 - 6 years	3
3 - 6 months	0	6 - 7 years	0
6 - 9 months	4	7 - 8 years	1
9 months - 1 year	1	8 - 9 years	0
1 - 2 years	11	9 - 10 years	0
2 - 3 years	2	more than 10 years	0
3 - 4 years	3	permanently	68
4 - 5 years	0	*Excluding those never returned	
		during minority though not having	

been technically removed permanently by court order. Sum of all time between return by court order and subsequent removals.

# Includes separate records for children removed more than once. If they were finally returned permanently they have notation of time between removals and also notation under "permanently".



TABLE VII

LENGTH OF TIME CHILDREN RETURNED <sup>a</sup>			
TIME	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	TIME	NUMBER OF CHILDREN
0 - 3 months	1	5 - 6 years	3
3 - 6 months	0	6 - 7 years	0
6 - 9 months	4	7 - 8 years	1
9 months - 1 year	1	8 - 9 years	0
1 - 2 years	11	9 - 10 years	0
2 - 3 years	3	more than 10 years	0
3 - 4 years	3	permanently	63
4 - 5 years	0	*Excluding those never returned during minority though not having	

been technically removed permanently by court order. Sum of all time

between return by court order and subsequent removals.

<sup>a</sup>Includes separate records for children removed more than once. If they were finally returned permanently they have notation of time between removals and also notation under "permanently".



Table VIII on page 223 indicates that the majority of the children who were removed finally had their cases disposed of by the method of filing cases after they were completed in the eyes of the court. Fifty-eight (c.79%) of the seventy-three children that survived the removal period had their cases filed. One child was committed to an institution permanently because of mental and physical defects. Five were committed to public departments; four to the Division of Child Guardianship of the State Department of Public Welfare, and one to the Institutions Department of the City of Boston(these were permanent commitments). Finally nine of the seventy-three were permanently placed in foster homes. This table seemed to indicate a fair degree of success of the treatment programs of the Society since cases are usually not filed unless the court is satisfied that the conditions in the home are so much improved that such action is warranted and that the children should remain in the home permanently pending the continuance of the good behavior of the parents and proper care of their children by them. The commitment to an institution of one child was brought about by the fact that he was an idiot mentally, and physically he was paralyzed and had spells of various kinds and hence was a difficult case to be handled by normal parents, let alone his parents who were not even efficient enough to provide proper care for their normal children. The five commitments to the public departments of child welfare involved children who besides being neglected were also dependent and didn't have parents capable of providing properly for them, either physically or morally. The nine permanent placements in foster homes included children who were very well placed in suitable foster homes and it was felt by the court and the Society that the children would be better off if they remained in the foster homes in which they were placed.



Table VIII on page 223 indicates that the majority of the children who were removed finally had their cases disposed of by the method of filing cases after they were completed in the eyes of the court. Fifty-eight (63.9%) of the seventy-three children that survived the removal period had their cases filed. One child was committed to an institution permanently because of mental and physical defects. Five were committed to public departments; four to the Division of Child Guardianship of the State Department of Public Welfare, and one to the Institutions Department of the City of Boston (these were permanent commitments). Finally nine of the seventy-three were permanently placed in foster homes. This table seemed to indicate a fair degree of success of the treatment programs of the Society since cases are usually not filed unless the court is satisfied that the conditions in the home are so much improved that such action is warranted and that the children should remain in the home permanently pending the continuance of the good behavior of the parents and proper care of their children by them. The commitment to an institution of one child was brought about by the fact that he was an idiot mentally, and physically he was paralyzed and had spells of various kinds and hence was a difficult case to be handled by normal parents, let alone his parents who were not even efficient enough to provide proper care for their normal children. The five commitments to the public departments of child welfare involved children who besides being neglected were also dependent and didn't have parents capable of providing properly for them, either physically or mentally. The nine permanent placements in foster homes included children who were very well placed in suitable foster homes and it was felt by the court and the Society that the children would be better off if they remained in the foster homes in which they were placed.



TABLE VIII

## FINAL DISPOSITION OF CASES (BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN) \* #

PERMANENT	PERMANENT COMMITMENT	PERMANENT PLACE-	TOTAL
COMMITMENT TO	TO DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC	MENT IN FOSTER	
INSTITUTION	WELFARE OR BOSTON INSTI-	HOME	
	TUTIONS DEPARTMENT		
58	1	5	9
			73

\* As handled through the M.S.P.C.C. only.

# Excluding three children who died during the removal period.







Fifty-eight of the seventy-three children surviving the removal period were not known to have any delinquent careers either before removal or at the time at which the writer followed up their histories (1934-35). Table IX on page 225 points out this fact and indicates thereby that despite their neglected condition and unfavorable environment c.79% of the children studied were able to remain law-abiding citizens either through proper corrective supervision which was applied at the critical moment in their lives when they could have become delinquent, or as the result of the lack of criminal ideation, or as the result of lack of courage to become delinquent as a revolt against their situation. The other fifteen of the seventy-three children involved went to the other extreme and twelve(80%) of them were involved in serious delinquencies such as breaking, entering, and larceny, robbery, assault and battery, etc., while only three (20%) of them committed only minor delinquencies such as violations of traffic laws. It almost seems from these facts that when this group of children did make up their minds to be bad they did so in a grand manner. However, table IX indicates that only three of the twelve who committed serious offenses were committed to penal institutions largely because of their youth and the fact that the majority of them were put on probation. Two of those who had records of delinquencies before or during removal period showed no further records in this state though continuing to reside therein. One wonders what effect the treatment program of the Society had in redirecting their careers from the path of delinquency and criminality. Interesting material could probably be gathered on this question if time and energy were used to contact such cases and discuss with them the reasons for the cessation of their delinquent experiences. The follow-up studies on all the cases studied



Twenty-eight of the seventy-three children surviving the removal period were not known to have any delinquent careers either before removal or at the time at which the writer followed up their histories (1934-35). Table IX on page 120 points out this fact and indicates thereby that despite their neglected condition and unfavorable environment 8.7% of the children studied were able to remain law-abiding citizens either through proper corrective supervision which was applied at the critical moment in their lives when they could have become delinquent, or as the result of the lack of criminal inclination, or as the result of lack of courage to become delinquent as a revolt against their situation. The other fifteen of the seventy-three children involved went to the other extreme and twelve (80%) of them were involved in serious delinquencies such as breaking, entering, and larceny, robbery, assault and battery, etc., while only three (20%) of them committed only minor delinquencies such as violations of traffic laws. It almost seems from these facts that when this group of children did make up their minds to be bad they did so in a grand manner. However, Table IX indicates that only three of the twelve who committed serious offenses were committed to penal institutions largely because of their youth and the fact that the majority of them were put on probation. Two of those who had records of delinquencies before or during removal period showed no further records in this state though continuing to reside therein. One wonders what effect the treatment program of the Society had in redirecting their careers from the path of delinquency and criminality. Interesting material could probably be gathered on this question if time and energy were used to contact such cases and discuss with them the reasons for the cessation of their delinquent experiences. The follow-up studies on all the cases studied



TABLE IX

## SUBSEQUENT DELINQUENCIES OF CHILDREN REMOVED \*

NO DELINQUENCIES BEFORE OR AFTER REMOVAL AND RETURN:	FURTHER DELINQUENCIES SERIOUS #	MINOR †	COMMITMENT TO INSTITUTION	NO FURTHER DELINQUENCIES
58	12	3	3	2

\*According to records of the Massachusetts Commission on Probation

†Misdemeanors, felonies, larceny, etc.

‡Traffic violations and such.



TABLE IX

\* SUBSEQUENT DELINQUENCIES OF CHILDREN REMOVED \*

NO FURTHER DELINQUENCIES	COMMITMENT TO INSTITUTION	FURTHER DELINQUENCIES		REMOVED OR AFTER REMOVAL AND RETURN	NO DELINQUENCIES
		MINOR	SERIOUS		
2	2	3	12	12	12

\* According to records of the Massachusetts Commission on Probation

Misdemeanors, felonies, larceny, etc.

traffic violations and such.



with respect to the subsequent delinquent careers of the children studied were made by means of searching the files of the Massachusetts Commission on Probation for records of delinquencies of the children studied. This indicated to the writer that at least as far as the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was concerned 79% of these children were never delinquent. Whether they were law-abiding in other areas of the nation where they might be residing or might have resided before is an interesting question to speculate about and would be profitable to investigate.

In evaluating the results of the removal by court order technique in the group of cases studied the writer had to be very subjective in interpreting the results as shown by the case studies and his own follow-up studies because in many of the cases the results could have been variously interpreted according to the point of view of the person making the study. The writer tried as much as possible to maintain the points of view both of the social worker and of society in general. From the point of view of the social worker the case was successful if the treatment instituted resulted in so improving the situation of the children and the parents that the children were once again able to live in an environment that would allow them to develop their abilities to the highest degree and in keeping with the norms of the general strata of society from which they came and lived in. From the point of view of society not only did such adjustment have to be made for the children and parents in question, but the children also had to be so supervised, trained and brought up that they would be law-abiding citizens doing their share of the work of the world when obtainable, and creating for themselves and their posterity a proper or even better environment in which to live.



with respect to the subsequent delinquent careers of the children studied were made by means of searching the files of the Massachusetts Commission on Probation for records of delinquencies of the children studied. This indicated to the writer that at least as far as the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was concerned very few of these children were never delinquent. Whether they were law-abiding in other areas of the nation where they might be residing or might have resided before is an interesting question to speculate about and would be profitable to investigate.

In evaluating the results of the removal by court order technique in the group of cases studied the writer had to be very subjective in interpreting the results as shown by the case studies and his own follow-up studies because in many of the cases the results could have been variously interpreted according to the point of view of the person making the study. The writer tried as much as possible to maintain the points of view both of the social worker and of society in general. From the point of view of the social worker the case was successful if the treatment instituted resulted in no improving the situation of the children and the parents that the children were once again able to live in an environment that would allow them to develop their abilities to the highest degree and in keeping with the norms of the general strata of society from which they came and lived in. From the point of view of society not only did such adjustment have to be made for the children and parents in question, but the children also had to be so supervised, trained and brought up that they would be law-abiding citizens doing their share of the work of the world when obtaining, and creating for themselves and their posterity a proper or even better environment in which to live.



In Table X, on page 228, the writer attempted to tabulate the results and thus evaluate the results in graphic and easily recognizable form. The child and the parent situations were tabulated according as the results of treatment were favorable, adverse, or neutral (which meant that no visible change was made in the conditions of either the parents or the children ultimately). Adverse meant that the Society's treatment at the time seemed to remedy the situation adequately enough to allow for the return of the children, but that in the end the writer's follow-up studies revealed that the situations of the children were even worse or at least as bad as they were prior to the removal of the children by court order. Enough was known about only forty parents out of a possible one hundred and forty-six to allow for tabulation of the results of the treatment program of the Society for them. Of the seventy-three children who survived the period of removal, enough was known about them all by the writer to allow him to make an evaluation of the obvious results of the treatment programs instituted by the Society. The reader is referred to the writer's copious case histories for materials upon which the writer drew to tabulate the results as in Table X. The writer also had charts not included in the manuscript showing further contacts of the children and parents with social agencies, and their present disposition. In tabulating the results of treatment, five subheadings were devised by the writer to make a rational tabulation possible. The first factor considered was entitled "at home" which referred to the home situation per se and the relationships of the various members to each other. The second subheading was entitled "personality, habits, conduct, etc." and referred to the factors named and the changes brought about in these as a result of the treatment program of the Society. The third factor,



In Table X, on page 238, the writer attempted to tabulate the results and thus evaluate the results in graphic and easily recognizable form. The child and the parent situations were tabulated according to the results of treatment were favorable, adverse, or neutral (which meant that no visible change was made in the conditions of either the parents or the children ultimately). Adverse meant that the Society's treatment at the time seemed to remedy the situation adequately enough to allow for the return of the children, but that in the end the writer's follow-up studies revealed that the situations of the children were even worse or at least as bad as they were prior to the removal of the children by court order. Enough was known about only forty parents out of a possible one hundred and forty-six to allow for tabulation of the results of the treatment program of the Society for them. Of the seventy-three children who survived the period of removal, enough was known about them all by the writer to allow him to make an evaluation of the obvious results of the treatment program instituted by the Society. The reader is referred to the writer's copious case histories for materials upon which the writer drew to tabulate the results as in Table X. The writer also had charts not included in the manuscript showing their contacts of the children and parents with social agencies, and their present disposition. In tabulating the results of treatment, five subheadings were devised by the writer to make a rational tabulation possible. The first factor considered was entitled "at home" which referred to the home situation per se and the relationships of the various members to each other. The second subheading was entitled "personality, habits, conduct, etc." and referred to the factors named and the changes brought about in these as a result of the treatment program of the Society. The third factor



TABLE X

## EVALUATION OF RESULTS OF REMOVAL BY COURT ORDER TECHNIQUE

FACTORS	CHILD SITUATION			PARENT SITUATION		
	FAVORABLE	ADVERSE	NEUTRAL	FAVORABLE	ADVERSE	NEUTRAL
AT HOME	59	7	7	20	0	20
PERSONAL- ITY, HABITS, CONDUCT, ETC.	54	9	10	18	0	22
EMPLOY- MENT, SCHOOL, ETC.	59	7	7	20	0	20
PHYSICAL HEALTH, LIVING CONDITIONS	60	6	7	19	0	21
AT PRESENT	54	7	12	19	0	21



TABLE X

## EVALUATION OF RESULTS OF REMOVAL BY COURT ORDER TECHNIQUE

FACTORS	CHILD SITUATION			PARENT SITUATION		
	FAVORABLE	ADVERSE	NEUTRAL	FAVORABLE	ADVERSE	NEUTRAL
AT HOME	52	7	7	50	0	50
EMPLOYMENT, HABITS, CONDUCT, ETC.	54	9	10	18	0	82
EMPLOYMENT, HABITS, CONDUCT, ETC.	52	7	7	50	0	50
PHYSICAL HEALTH, LIVING CONDITIONS	50	8	7	19	0	81
AT PRESENT	54	7	12	19	0	81



"employment, school, etc," referred to the adjustments made in the school career of the children, the vocational adjustments of the children when they left school, and of parents unadjusted in their own vocational life, and in brief to workaday world of the individuals treated. The fourth factor, "physical health, living conditions", referred simply to the satisfaction and provision of the physical needs of the children studied and of the parents as well where such were making the home situation conducive to the neglect of the children. Finally, the subheading entitled "at present" referred to results as indicated in the present disposition and record of achievement where available as well as of criminality where available.

Under the subheading "at home" 59(c.81%) of the seventy-three children studied were considered by the writer to have been favorably affected. Seven were adversely affected in the writer's estimation and seven were affected neither way. Of the forty parents studied, 20(50%) were affected favorably in relation to this factor and an equal number neutrally. None adversely. In regard to the "personalities, habits, and conduct" of the persons included in the treatment programs of the Society in this study, fifty-four(c.74%) of the seventy-three children were favorably affected, nine(12%) were adversely affected, and ten (14%) were affected neither way. Of the forty parents eighteen(45%) were favorably affected and twenty-two(55%) were affected neither way. None were adversely affected. In regard to "employment, school life, etc." fifty-nine(c.81%) of the seventy-three were favorably affected, seven were adversely affected and seven were affected neither way. Of the forty parents twenty(50%) were favorably affected and an equal number were affected neither way. None were adversely affected. In respect to "physical health and living conditions" sixty of the children (82%) were favorably affected, six(c.8%) were



"employment, school, etc." referred to the adjustments made in the school career of the children, the vocational adjustments of the children when they left school, and of parents unadjusted in their own vocational life, and in brief to workaday world of the individuals treated. The factor "physical health, living conditions", referred simply to the relation and provision of the physical needs of the children treated and of the parents as well where such were making the home situation conducive to the neglect of the children. Finally, the subheading entitled "achievement" referred to results as indicated in the present disposition and record of achievement where available as well as of criminality where available.

Under the subheading "at home" 33(c.31%) of the seventy-three children studied were considered by the writer to have been favorably affected. Seven were adversely affected in the writer's estimation and seven were affected neither way. Of the forty parents studied, 30(75%) were affected favorably in relation to this factor and an equal number neutrally. None adversely. In regard to the "personalities, habits, and conduct" of the persons included in the treatment programs of the Society in this study, fifty-four(c.74%) of the seventy-three children were favorably affected, nine(13%) were adversely affected, and ten (14%) were affected neither way. Of the forty parents eighteen(45%) were favorably affected and twenty-two(55%) were affected neither way. None were adversely affected.

In regard to "employment, school life, etc." fifty-nine(c.81%) of the seventy-three were favorably affected, seven were adversely affected and seven were affected neither way. Of the forty parents twenty(50%) were favorably affected and an equal number were affected neither way. None were adversely affected. In regard to "physical health and living conditions" sixty of the children (85%) were favorably affected, six(8%) were



unfavorably affected, and seven (c.10%) were affected neither way. Of the parents nineteen(c.48%) were favorably affected, none adversely, and twenty-one(c.52%) affected neither way. Finally in regard to the "present" situation of the children fifty-four(c.74%) seemed to be favorably affected, seven(c.10%) adversely, and twelve(c.16%) neutrally. Of the parents nineteen(48%) seemed to be favorably affected, none adversely, and twenty-one (52%) neutrally. None of the parents seemed to be adversely affected in any of these respects because they were either so set in their ways that they remained neutral, as the larger percentage of the forty were, or else even a little improvement in their conditions seemed to warrant the evaluation of favorable results since it was so hard for the parents to change their ways since they were either set in them because of age and habit, or else were so low in the social scale that it was almost impossible for them to change for better or worse. On the whole, the writer felt justified in saying that for most of the parents studied and known the results of the Society's treatment were not harmful, and for a large number approaching almost fifty per cent the treatment program of the Society brought about obvious benefits.

In regard to the result achieved in remedying the unfavorable conditions in which the children were living, and in adjusting them to society and to themselves and their families the Society was highly successful in preventing further maladjustments and in improving and obliterating present maladjustments. Of the seventy-three children thus studied approximately seventy-eight per cent of them were favorably affected by the treatment of the Society according to the evaluations made by the writer in view of the evidence at hand concerning these seventy-three children.



unfavorably affected, and seven (c.10%) were affected neither way. Of the  
parents nineteen (c.48%) were favorably affected, none adversely, and  
twenty-one (c.52%) affected neither way. Finally in regard to the "present"  
situation of the children fifty-four (c.74%) seemed to be favorably affected,  
seven (c.10%) adversely, and twelve (c.18%) neutrally. Of the parents nine-  
teen (48%) seemed to be favorably affected, none adversely, and twenty-one  
(52%) neutrally. None of the parents seemed to be adversely affected in  
any of these respects because they were either so set in their ways that  
they remained neutral, as the larger percentage of the forty were, or else  
even a little improvement in their conditions seemed to warrant the evalua-  
tion of favorable results since it was so hard for the parents to change  
their ways since they were either set in them because of age and habit, or  
else were so low in the social scale that it was almost impossible for them  
to change for better or worse. On the whole, the writer felt justified in  
saying that for most of the parents studied and known the results of the  
Society's treatment were not harmful, and for a large number approaching about  
fifty per cent the treatment program of the Society brought about obvious  
benefits.

In regard to the results achieved in remedying the unfavor-  
able conditions in which the children were living, and in adjusting them to  
society and to themselves and their families the Society was highly success-  
ful in preventing further maladjustments and in improving and eliminating  
present maladjustments. Of the seventy-three children thus studied approx-  
imately seventy-eight per cent of them were favorably affected by the  
treatment of the Society according to the evaluations made by the writer in  
view of the evidence at hand concerning these seventy-three children.



Approximately ten per cent of the seventy-three were adversely affected by the treatment of the Society in accordance with the definition of the term adversely as given on page 227. Finally, approximately twelve per cent of the seventy-three children studied were affected neither favorably nor adversely, ultimately, by the treatment rendered by the Society.

As a matter of supplementary interest, the writer felt that it would be interesting to know the national background of the parents of the children involved since so much is made nowadays of the cultural setting and background in the interpretations of people's behavior. Of the twenty-five cases studied it was interesting to find that all of the parents were noted as having the same national backgrounds. Five of the cases (20%) involved parents of native American birth, five (20%) of Italian birth, seven (28%) of Irish birth, four (16%) of Polish and Lithuanian birth, one (4%) of Russian birth, one (4%) colored and both parents born in the British West Indies, one (4%) Canadian by birth, and one (4%) Swedish by birth. We see that the so-called difference of culture found in the Southern portion of Europe played a role in 20% of the cases, color distinction in only one (4%) of the cases, Slavic culture in five (20%) of the cases, and that therefore in eleven (44%) of the cases cultures were involved that usually are regarded as causing difficulty in the adjustment of the second generation in this country to the mores of the American culture so-called and that of their parents. In 20% of the cases the culture of the parents was presumably American because of native birth, and 28% were of Irish background and hence afforded their children a milieu in which there is rapid adjustment and acceptance of much of the culture of America, so-called. Also the one case in which the parents were Canadian by birth, and the one in



approximately ten per cent of the seventy-three were adversely affected by the treatment of the Society in accordance with the definition of the term adversely as given on page 337. Finally, approximately twelve per cent of the seventy-three children studied were affected neither favorably nor adversely, ultimately, by the treatment rendered by the Society.

As a matter of supplementary interest, the writer felt that it would be interesting to know the national background of the parents of the children involved since so much is made nowadays of the setting and background in the interpretations of people's behavior. Of the twenty-five cases studied it was interesting to find that all of the parents were noted as having the same national backgrounds. Five of the cases (20%) involved parents of native American birth, five (30%) of Italian birth, seven (28%) of Irish birth, four (16%) of Polish and Lithuanian birth, one (4%) of Russian birth, one (4%) colored and both parents born in the British West Indies, one (4%) Canadian by birth, and one (4%) Swedish by birth. We see that the so-called differences of culture found in the Southern portion of Europe played a role in 20% of the cases, color distinction in only one (4%) of the cases, Slavic culture in five (20%) of the cases, and that therefore in eleven (44%) of the cases cultures were involved that usually are regarded as causing difficulty in the adjustment of the second generation in this country to the mores of the American culture so-called and that of their parents. In 30% of the cases the culture of the parents was presumably American because of native birth, and 28% were of Irish background and hence afforded their children a milieu in which there is rapid adjustment and acceptance of much of the culture of America, so-called. Also the one case in which the parents were Canadian by birth, and the one in



which they were Swedish by birth give us 8% more of cases in which the cultural backgrounds of the children were supposed to be fairly agreeable to the environment and culture in which they were living. Hence the writer concludes that the majority of families(56%) of the children studied came from homes that presented cultural backgrounds that should have been favorable to adjustment to live in this nation, whereas a smaller number 44% or 11 of the cases presented cultural backgrounds that were usually out of harmony if not in actual conflict with the standards and mores of our culture in this country. It would be interesting in the light of these facts to make a study of a large number of cases in order to see how much of a factor the so-called unfavorable situation of the second generation in this country is in bringing about the neglect of children. (Refer to Table XI. on page 233 for data.)

In Table XII., on page 234, we have another interesting series of data which deals with the length of time cases studied were known to the Society, from the date of the first referral to the last recorded contact. Of course in many of the cases the Society was not in contact with the families for many years in-between, but nevertheless one is justified in counting all this time since it shows that family had not adjusted itself well enough to be independent of social guidance even after a long period of merely potential strife and conflict which finally reached the point where some outside agency such as the Society had to step in, in order to stop the family on the downward grade to disintegration and maladjustment of the children involved. Table XII on page 234 reveals that only one family was known for less than one year and even this family, which was a New York State family, was referred for further treatment at the neighboring S.P.C.C. in its home town for further guidance and help with its problems. Five of



which they were Swedish by birth give us 84 more of cases in which the cultural backgrounds of the children were supposed to be fairly accessible to the environment and culture in which they were living. Hence the writer concludes that the majority of families (55%) of the children studied came from homes that presented cultural backgrounds that should have been favorable to adjustment to life in this nation, whereas a smaller number 24% or 14 of the cases presented cultural backgrounds that were usually out of harmony with the actual conditions with the standards and mores of the country in this country. It would be interesting in the light of these facts to make a study of a larger number of cases in order to see how much of the factor the so-called unfavorable situation of the second generation in this country is in bringing about the neglect of children. (Refer to Table XI on page 238 for data.)

In Table XII, on page 234, we have another interesting series of data which deals with the length of time cases studied were known to the Society, from the date of the first referral to the last recorded contact. Of course in many of the cases the Society was not in contact with the families for many years in-between, but nevertheless one is justified in counting all this time since it shows that family had not adjusted itself well enough to be independent of social guidance even after a long period of merely potential strife and conflict which finally reached the point where some outside agency such as the Society had to step in, in order to stop the family on the downward grade to disintegration and maladjustment of the children involved. Table XII on page 234 reveals that only one family was known for less than one year and even this family, which was a New York State family, was referred for further treatment at the neighboring S.S.C.C. in its home town for further guidance and help with its problem. Five of



TABLE XI

## NATIONAL BACKGROUND OF PARENTS OF CHILDREN REMOVED \*

NATIONALITY	NUMBER OF CASES
AMERICAN	5
ITALIAN	5
IRISH	7
POLISH AND LITHUANIAN	4
RUSSIAN	1
COLORED(BRITISH WEST INDIES)	1
CANADA	1
SWEDEN	1
TOTAL	25

\* All families had parents of same national background.



TABLE XI

NATIONAL BACKGROUND OF PARENTS OF CHILDREN REMOVED \*

NATIONALITY	NUMBER OF CASES
AMERICAN	2
ITALIAN	2
IRISH	2
POLISH AND LITHUANIAN	4
RUSSIAN	1
COLORADO (BRITISH WEST INDIANS)	1
CANADA	1
SWEDEN	1
TOTAL	20

\* All families had parents of same national background.



TABLE XII

LENGTH OF TIME CASES KNOWN BY THE SOCIETY  
(from time of referral to last contact recorded)

TIME	CASES	TIME	CASES
less than one year	1	13 - 14 years	0
1 - 2 years	1	14 - 15 years	0
2 - 3 years	1	15 - 16 years	1
3 - 4 years	1	16 - 17 years	1
4 - 5 years	2	17 - 18 years	0
5 - 6 years	2	18 - 19 years	0
6 - 7 years	1	19 - 20 years	1
7 - 8 years	3	20 - 21 years	0
8 - 9 years	1	21 - 22 years	1
9 - 10 years	0	22 - 23 years	0
10 - 11 years	3	23 - 24 years	0
11 - 12 years	2	24 - 25 years	1
12 - 13 years	2	TOTAL	25

GRAND TOTAL

=

25



TABLE XII

LENGTH OF TIME CASES KNOWN BY THE SOCIETY  
(From time of referral to last contact recorded)

TIME	CASES	TIME	CASES
less than one year	1	13 - 14 years	0
1 - 2 years	1	14 - 15 years	0
2 - 3 years	1	15 - 16 years	1
3 - 4 years	1	16 - 17 years	1
4 - 5 years	2	17 - 18 years	0
5 - 6 years	2	18 - 19 years	0
6 - 7 years	1	19 - 20 years	1
7 - 8 years	2	20 - 21 years	0
8 - 9 years	1	21 - 22 years	1
9 - 10 years	0	22 - 23 years	0
10 - 11 years	2	23 - 24 years	0
11 - 12 years	2	24 - 25 years	1
12 - 13 years	2	TOTAL	22

GRAND TOTAL

=

22



the cases were known to the Society from one to five years. Seven of the cases were known to the Society from five to nine years. Seven of the cases were known to the Society from ten to thirteen years. Three of the cases were known from fifteen to twenty years. One case was known from twenty-one to twenty-two years, and one from twenty-four to twenty-five years. In fact nineteen of the twenty-five cases studied were known by the Society for more than five years and this seems to show that the treatment programs of the Society are essentially long-time affairs and involve extended treatment and contact with parents, children, and other interested agencies and individuals.

In considering all the facts and statistics gathered, certain conclusions may be drawn as to the conditions in homes which warrant the use of the removal policy. Though the number of cases have not been large, they are indicative of what might be found true if a larger sampling of cases were studied and seem to warrant the following conclusions: in the first place, homes which are not giving the children(minor) in them the necessities of life in proper amounts (i.e., food, clothing, and shelter), always of course in keeping with the economic status of the family and the standard of living which is customarily maintained in the home, and are neglecting to make attempts to make more adequate provision for the children involved warrant the attempts of the Society to remove the minor children, by due process of law, till such time as the parents can show to the satisfaction of the court and the Society that they are able and willing to make more adequate provision for the physical needs of their children; secondly, the facts adduced indicate that all situations involving physical abuse of children, such as undue punishments, physical deprivations, and the like



the cases were known to the Society from one to five years. Seven of the cases were known to the Society from five to nine years. Seven of the cases were known to the Society from ten to fifteen years. Three of the cases were known from fifteen to twenty years. One case was known from twenty-one to twenty-two years, and one from twenty-four to twenty-five years. In fact nineteen of the twenty-five cases studied were known by the Society for more than five years and this seems to show that the treatment programs of the Society are essentially long-time affairs and involve extended treatment and contact with parents, children, and other interested agencies and individuals.

In considering all the facts and statistics gathered, certain conclusions may be drawn as to the conditions in homes which warrant the use of the removal policy. Though the number of cases have not been large, they are indicative of what might be found true if a larger sampling of cases were studied and seem to warrant the following conclusions: in the first place, homes which are not giving the children (minor) in them the necessities of life in proper amounts (i.e., food, clothing, and shelter), always of course in keeping with the economic status of the family and the standard of living which is customarily maintained in the home, and are neglecting to make attempts to make more adequate provision for the children involved warrant the attempts of the Society to remove the minor children, by the process of law, still such time as the parents can show to the satisfaction of the court and the Society that they are able and willing to make more adequate provision for the physical needs of their children; secondly, the facts advanced, indicate that all situations involving physical abuse of children, such as undue punishments, physical deprivations, and the like



which if continued will harm the children physically, and even mentally and emotionally, warrant the removal of the children and punishment of the parents, if culpability can be established, until such time as the parents have learned that even children have to be dealt with reasonably and have to be considered as human beings; thirdly, children who are suffering from physical disorders and illnesses which endanger their health, life, or ability ultimately to adjust to life and whose parents will not provide proper care warrant the removal of children until such treatment as is necessary has been instituted and carried out, and it is felt by the court and the Society that the children can again be returned to their parents without any uncertainty as to the safety of the children involved; fourthly, children who by the neglectful attitudes of their parents are allowed to come into contact with immoral, degenerate, intemperate, mentally defective and diseased persons who are dangerous to the welfare of the children, or who allow their children to develop immoral attitudes and habits without checking them or making an attempt to check them warrant the removal of the children until such time as the parents can assure the court and the Society that the children will be properly protected against immoral influences that may abound in their environment; fifthly, parents who allow their children or encourage their children to pursue delinquent and criminal careers of any sort shall have their children removed until they can guarantee and prove to the court and the Society that they will properly supervise, guide, help, and train their children not to pursue delinquent or criminal careers; sixthly, parents not capable of giving their children proper training and salutary control because of mental, physical, or emotional incapacities should have their children removed until such time as the parents shall be in position to give the children adequate supervision and upbringing.



which if continued will harm the children physically, and even mentally and emotionally, warrant the removal of the children and punishment of the parents, if culpability can be established, until such time as the parents have learned that even children have to be dealt with reasonably and have to be considered as human beings; thirdly, children who are suffering from physical disorders and illnesses which endanger their health, life, or ability ultimately to adjust to life and whose parents will not provide proper care warrant the removal of children until such treatment as is necessary has been instituted and carried out, and it is felt by the court and the Society that the children can again be returned to their parents without any uncertainty as to the safety of the children involved; fourthly, children who by the neglectful attitudes of their parents are allowed to come into contact with immoral, degenerate, intemperate, mentally defective and diseased persons who are dangerous to the welfare of the children, or who allow their children to develop immoral attitudes and habits without checking them or making an attempt to check them warrant the removal of the children until such time as the parents can assure the court and the Society that the children will be properly protected against immoral influences that may abound in their environment; fifthly, parents who allow their children or encourage their children to pursue delinquent and criminal careers of any sort shall have their children removed until they can guarantee and prove to the court and the Society that they will properly supervise, guide, help, and train their children not to pursue delinquent or criminal careers; sixthly, parents not capable of giving their children proper training and salutary control because of mental, physical, or emotional incapacities should have their children removed until such time as the parents shall be in position to give the children adequate supervision and upbringing.



## PART III.

## CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

CHAPTER I. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Removal Technique  
(Evaluations)

The removal technique, which has been the subject of discussion of this entire thesis, had a long history of development as was illustrated in the introductory chapter. At present it is one of the most important techniques employed by the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in rescuing children from unwholesome situations and in making provision for the improvement of their situations either by placement in a foster home of one sort or another or by institutionalization as the case may warrant, until such time as the children reach their majority and can shift for themselves, or until such time as the unwholesome situation has been so radically changed and improved as to guarantee that the welfare of the child will be henceforth promoted from the time it is returned to its home. The Society always retains the right to make further application for the removal of the child by court order if the situation again becomes so unwholesome as to endanger the welfare of the children involved and if the parents have failed to live up to their promises to improve the situation if their children are returned to them. This method of treatment necessarily involves much ill-feeling towards the Society since people regard it as an intrusion of their rights when the Society steps in and with the backing of the law and the courts insists that certain standards of child-care and training be maintained if the parents wish to retain their children.

Much philosophizing has probably been done over the question as to whether or not any organization, especially a private one has the



## PART III.

### CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

#### CHAPTER I. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Removal Technique (Evaluation)

The removal technique, which has been the subject of discussion of this entire thesis, had a long history of development as was illustrated in the introductory chapter. At present it is one of the most important techniques employed by the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in rescuing children from unwholesome situations and in making provision for the improvement of their situations either by placement in a foster home of one sort or another or by institutionalization as the case may warrant, until such time as the children reach their majority and can shift for themselves, or until such time as the unwholesome situation has been so radically changed and improved as to guarantee that the welfare of the child will be henceforth promoted from the time it is returned to its home. The Society always retains the right to make further application for the removal of the child by court order if the situation again becomes so unwholesome as to endanger the welfare of the children involved and if the parents have failed to live up to their promises to improve the situation if their children are returned to them. This method of treatment necessarily involves much ill-feeling towards the Society since people regard it as an intrusion of their rights when the Society steps in and with the backing of the law and the courts insists that certain standards of child-care and training be maintained if the parents wish to retain their children.

Much philosophizing has probably been done over the question

as to whether or not any organization, especially a private one has the



right to interfere with the care parents give to their own children. However, such philosophizing is vain and useless in our civilized state of Massachusetts which has for a long while set up certain minimum standards of child-care and training which parents must maintain if they wish to retain the care and custody of their children.

Positing the fact that the removal technique in the treatment of children's problems is a method of treatment that has been established by law and experience, what are the specific advantages and disadvantages revealed in this study of this technique. The writer believes that it is a very effective means of treatment and probably should be made even more strenuous than it now is. In the first place, it is an effective means of treatment of children's problems because it has the teeth and nails of the law behind it and is capable of enforcement against the opposition of parents if sufficient evidence is presented to the court by such agency as the M.S.P.C.C. that the parents have not lived up to the demands made upon all parents by the neglect laws of the state, to give their children certain minimum standards of living and certain minimum rights. Secondly, the removal technique is valuable because it gives the child who is burdened by an environment that isn't paying attention to his needs and rights an opportunity to achieve living conditions which will give him a more equal and adequate chance to adjust and compete with his fellows on a more equal and fair basis by giving him necessary care and training that will fit him for the struggle of life that lies ahead of him. Thirdly, it provides education, even if forced and unwelcome, to parents who either do not know how, or do not want to, or cannot because of inherent incapacities, as to the requirements of society of parents who have children and are given the privilege of raising and training them for life in society, which in



right to interfere with the care parents give to their own children. However, such philosophizing is vain and useless in our civilized state of Massachusetts which has for a long while set up certain minimum standards of child-care and training which parents must maintain if they wish to retain the care and custody of their children.

Positing the fact that the removal technique in the treatment of children's problems is a method of treatment that has been established by law and experience, what are the specific advantages and disadvantages revealed in this study of this technique. The writer believes that it is a very effective means of treatment and probably should be made even more strenuous than it now is. In the first place, it is an effective means of treatment of children's problems because it has the teeth and nails of the law behind it and is capable of enforcement against the opposition of parents if sufficient evidence is presented to the court by such agency as the M.S.P.C.C. that the parents have not lived up to the demands made upon all parents by the neglect laws of the state, to give their children certain minimum standards of living and certain minimum rights. Secondly, the removal technique is valuable because it gives the child who is burdened by an environment that isn't paying attention to his needs and rights an opportunity to achieve living conditions which will give him a more equal and adequate chance to adjust and compete with his fellows on a more equal and fair basis by giving him necessary care and training that will fit him for the struggle of life that lies ahead of him. Thirdly, it provides education, even if forced and unwelcome, to parents who either do not know how, or do not want to, or cannot because of inherent incapacities, as to the requirements of society of parents who have children and are given the privilege of raising and training them for life in society, which is



civilized societies is interested in the welfare of the individual as well as in that of the whole. This technique thus either succeeds in training those parents who have been inadequate for the job of parenthood to be more adequate and attentive to their duties, or else it proves that the parents are so incapable of bringing up their children that it is in the interests of the children and of society that the children be permanently removed from their parents. In a word, the value of this method lies in the fact that it makes it possible for society to force parents to live up to certain standards of child care and training, and thus makes provision for the better upbringing of the less privileged children who have inadequate or unadjusted parents. In the long run it probably contributes to the improvement of each succeeding generation by making the failures in society less effective by controlling their progeny and successors. If enforced to its fullest extent, this method of treating children in inadequate environments could probably do much to lower the rate of crime, immorality, and social and economic failure in society.

The removal technique has the disadvantage that it makes the treatment of neglected children who are suffering from physical, moral, mental, and emotional illnesses and deprivations too dependent on the gathering of formal data called evidence often to the permanent detriment of children who could have been rescued and saved from permanent maladjustment if they had been removed from their detrimental environment at the time when the evil factors in their environments were most active, and even though it was not possible to gather formal evidence that would satisfy the law. It seems to the naive mind of the writer that the removal of children from their homes when there is only obvious neglect with insufficient evidence would do less harm to both parents and children if the children were later



divided societies is interested in the welfare of the individual as well as in that of the whole. This technique thus either succeeds in training those parents who have been inadequate for the job of parenthood to be more adequate and attentive to their duties, or else it proves that the parents are so incapable of bringing up their children that it is in the interests of the children and of society that the children be permanently removed from their parents. In a word, the value of this method lies in the fact that it makes it possible for society to force parents to live up to certain standards of child care and training, and thus makes provision for the better upbringing of the less privileged children who have inadequate or unadjusted parents. In the long run it probably contributes to the improvement of each succeeding generation by making the failure in society less effective by controlling their property and resources. It enforces to the fullest extent, this method of treating children in inadequate environments could probably do much to lower the rate of crime, immorality, and social and economic failure in society.

The removal technique has the disadvantage that it makes the treatment of neglected children who are suffering from physical, mental, and emotional illnesses and deprivations too dependent on the failure of formal data called evidence often to the permanent detriment of children who could have been rescued and saved from permanent maladjustment if they had been removed from their detrimental environment at the time when the evil factors in their environments were most active, and even though it was not possible to gather formal evidence that would satisfy the law. It seems to the naive mind of the writer that the removal of children from their homes when there is only obvious neglect with insufficient evidence would do less harm to both parents and children if the children were later



returned because such situations might be later be proved to be essentially false alarms, than if children are allowed to remain in frequently really harmful situations until the evidence satisfies the law. It may never do a particle of good for a child who has been permanently injured physically, morally, emotionally, or even mentally, while the process of evidence gathering was patiently going on. Of course the legalist will call such thoughts sentimentalism, but it is often better to be sentimental and emotional and prevent injury to the lives of young children, than to be scientific, cold-blooded, and formalistic in our procedures in the behalf of children in order to maintain our own dignity.

In a word, the writer regards the removal technique as an effective social-legal device for the promotion of the welfare of children neglected by their parents and not given an adequate chance by their parents to so develop as to make them equal to the struggle for existence on whatever level of society they may be trying to attain success. However, the present status and practice with regard to this technique is not fully adequate to the needs of neglected children because it calls for such a very cumbersome method of evidence gathering to satisfy the law and the courts that often the welfare of the child is sacrificed in order to maintain the dignity and poise of the law. On the whole the writer regards the removal technique as a distinct landmark in the progress of society for the more adequate care and safeguarding of its most precious possession, its progeny, the very entity for which society aims to improve itself continually in order to make the world a better place to live in for the coming generations, symbolized in the eternal now by its children whose interests it should therefore be logically most concerned with.



returned because such situations might be later be proved to be essentially false alarms, than if children are allowed to remain in frequently really harmful situations until the evidence satisfies the law. It may never do a particle of good for a child who has been permanently injured physically, morally, emotionally, or even mentally, while the process of evidence gathering was patiently going on. Of course the legalist will call such thoughts sentimentalism, but it is often better to be sentimental and emotional and prevent injury to the lives of young children, than to be scientific, cold-blooded, and formalistic in our procedures in the behalf of children in order to maintain our own dignity.

In a word, the writer regards the removal technique as an effective social-legal device for the promotion of the welfare of children neglected by their parents and not given an adequate chance by their parents to develop as to make them equal to the struggle for existence on whatever level of society they may be trying to attain success. However, the present status and practice with regard to this technique is not fully adequate to the needs of neglected children because it calls for such a very cumbersome method of evidence gathering to satisfy the law and the courts that often the welfare of the child is sacrificed in order to maintain the dignity and pose of the law. On the whole the writer regards the removal technique as a distinct landmark in the progress of society for the more adequate care and safeguarding of its most precious possession, its progeny, the very entity for which society aims to improve itself continually in order to make the world a better place to live in for the coming generations, symbolized in the eternal now by its children whose interests it should therefore be logically most concerned with.



## CHAPTER II. Suggestions for Further Research Along Similar Lines

The writer of this thesis feels that since one learns most by the experiences of others as well as those of oneself, and since a thesis or paper should teach something as well as tell something, that it would be proper to make some suggestions for further research along similar lines on which this thesis has been based. The Society would gain much interesting insight into its work if it could get someone who had the time to take between one to five hundred cases from a sampling such as the present writer has used and make a study similar to this one. It would be most profitable to all concerned if some of the conclusions reached in this paper could be validated by a more extensive research. In making such, it is also suggested that more extensive follow-up studies than the writer could make himself would probably yield some very enlightening data as to the effects of the treatment programs instituted by the Society in its work with neglected children in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The writer would have liked to have had the time to make such a more extensive study since it would have been interesting to see whether the conclusions herein reached held water or not, even though the writer has much confidence in the conclusions reached since they were based on a sampling of cases and not on a selected few cases which were picked out for special study because they contained especially important or intriguing technique, data, achievements or failures.

Some special studies which the writer would especially recommend as the result of needs he has observed from his own study of a group of cases are a study of the factors leading to removal of children which the writer feels is a basic need since it gives such insight into the reason for the work with neglected children and would probably do much to



## CHAPTER II. Suggestions for Further Research Along Similar Lines

The writer of this thesis feels that since one learns most by the experiences of others as well as those of oneself, and since a thesis or paper should teach something as well as tell something, that it would be proper to make some suggestions for further research along similar lines on which this thesis has been based. The Society would gain much interesting insight into its work if it could get someone who had the time to take between one to five hundred cases from a sampling such as the present writer has used and make a study similar to this one. It would be most profitable to all concerned if some of the conclusions reached in this paper could be validated by a more extensive research. In making such, it is also suggested that more extensive follow-up studies than the writer could make himself would probably yield some very enlightening data as to the effects of the treatment programs instituted by the Society in its work with neglected children in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The writer would have liked to have had the time to make such a more extensive study since it would have been interesting to see whether the conclusions herein reached held water or not, even though the writer has much confidence in the conclusions reached since they were based on a sampling of cases and not on a selected few cases which were picked out for special study because they contained especially important or intriguing technique, data, achievement or failures.

Some special studies which the writer would especially recommend as the result of needs he has observed from his own study of a group of cases are a study of the factors leading to removal of children which the writer feels is a basic need since it gives such insight into the reason for the work with neglected children and would probably do much to



clear up much muddled thinking concerning the causes and cures of neglect problems; and another study that is necessary and that would be valuable is one that would make a survey of the relation of immorality, delinquency, intemperance, and neglect of children since the writer has found this to be a frequent configuration in the problem of neglect and it would be interesting to see what are some of the results and methods now in use or that should be put into use in tackling this problem; another striking factor in the neglect of children which the writer has observed in this study has been the relationship of the broken-home situation to neglect of children and a study of cause, problems and cure or failure to cure such situations would be extremely enlightening both to anyone undertaking such a study and to the benefit of those interested in the treatment of this problem and of the broken-home situation and consequent neglect of children; finally an analysis of places to which children were removed and a correlation between them and results of removal would be valuable. These are only a few suggestions which the writer would like to pass on to those interested in further study along these lines. Possibly this thesis will in itself suggest further studies which the writer has either not thought of, or not had the time to think out. The writer wants to say in closing this chapter that he feels that the field of neglect of children is still a virgin field for study and needs much more research work done in and for it in order to clear up much muddled thinking concerning the whole problem of neglect, its causes, and its cure.



clear up much muddled thinking concerning the causes and cures of neglect  
problems; and another study that is necessary and that would be valuable is  
one that would make a survey of the relation of immorality, delinquency,  
interference, and neglect of children since the writer has found this to be a  
treatment configuration in the problem of neglect and it would be interesting  
to see what are some of the results and methods now in use or that should be  
put into use in tackling this problem; another striking factor in the neglect  
of children which the writer has observed in this study has been the rela-  
tionship of the broken-home situation to neglect of children and a study of  
causes, problems and cure or failure to cure such situations would be ex-  
tremely enlightening both to anyone undertaking such a study and to the bene-  
fit of those interested in the treatment of this problem and of the broken-  
home situation and consequent neglect of children; finally an analysis of  
places to which children were removed and a correlation between them and re-  
sults of removal would be valuable. These are only a few suggestions which  
the writer would like to pass on to those interested in further study along  
these lines. Possibly this thesis will in itself suggest further studies  
which the writer has either not thought of, or not had the time to think out.  
The writer wants to say in closing this chapter that he feels that the field  
of neglect of children is still a virgin field for study and needs much more  
research work done in and for it in order to clear up much muddled thinking  
concerning the whole problem of neglect, its causes, and its cure.











BOSTON UNIVERSITY



1 1719 02546 7004



